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A VIEW
OF
IRISH AFFAIRS
SINCE THE
REVOLUTION OF 1688,
TO THE CLOSE OF THE
PARLIAMENTARY SESSION of 1795:
WITH
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,
AND A
PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY JAMES MULLALLA, L.L.B—F.R.S.

VOL. I.

STATUI RES GESTAS, POPULI ROMANI, CARPTIM UT QUÆQUE MEMORIA DIGNA VIDEBANTUR PERSCRIBERE: EO MAGIS, QUOD MIHI A SPE, METU, PARTIBUS REIPUBLICÆ, ANIMUS LIBER ERAT
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1795.

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TO THE RIGHT HON.

JOHN FOSTER,

SPEAKER OF THE HON. HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR,

IN dedicating to you the 'View of Iriſh Affairs,' I am confident of meeting with the Sanction of Public Approbation, convinced, as I am, that your ardent Zeal, and unremitting Attention have ever been exerted to promote every Meaſure, having National Utility for its Object. In this Opinion, I am fully confirmed by the numerous and reſpectable Teſtimonies of Gratitude ſo frequently preſented to you, by the truly uſeful Part of the Community. The proſperous and flouriſhing State to which your patriotic Exertions have advanced our Agriculture, Manufactures, and Trade, places in a ſplendid point of View, the importance of your Services, which will only ceaſe to be held in grateful Remembrance, when genuine Patriotiſm loſes her Eſtimation, and Ireland her Name.

I WOULD

I WOULD feel peculiar pleaſure in paying that Tribute of Applauſe to your dignified Worth and luminous Talents, ſo juſtly due to them, did not Motives of Delicacy reſtrain me; wherefore, not to treſpaſs on your Time, or Feelings, I take the Liberty to ſubſcribe myſelf, with that Reſpect, and Eſteem, which every Friend to his Country muſt bear you,

Sir,

RANELAGH, 26th Auguſt, 1795.

Your moſt devoted Humble Servant,

J. MULLALLA.

PREFACE.

THE ſubſequent pages would never have been publiſhed, had the period choſen, been ever ſet forth in a continued diſcourſe. To fill up a chaſm therefore in the hiſtory of this country, with the utmoſt regard for impartiality and candour, has been my object: and, were my abilities equal to the importance of the ſubject, the work would conſtitute a truly intereſting and ſplendid portion of hiſtoric information.

ALTHOUGH many portions of the Iriſh hiſtory have been written by men of great talents and abilities, yet they have been in general too partial in their repreſentations. Hiſtory in ſuch hands is neither better nor worſe than what the author is willing to make it, according to his partiality or averſion; and he muſt have little knowledge of man, who knows not, that this ſpecies of human weakneſs is but too often an ingredient in ſome of

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the beſt, as it always is in the worſt characters; which, like a cancerous excreſcence on a beautiful face, often grows out of the faireſt principle; in ſuch caſes, the more indifferent a man is, either in ſpiritual or party zeal, the nearer he approaches to the character of a true patriot and a good citizen. If religious indifference were at all laudable, it would be in the inſtance before us; but there is a ſtrength of mind ſuperior to this indifference itſelf, which gives all the good qualifications neceſſary to complete the good man, as well as judicious hiſtorian. This ſtrength, ſeveral great writers, Proteſtants and Catholics, wanted. As deſcribers of former times, they may poſſibly give us a fair copy, but as cotemporaries they are intolerable. Of all men, they are the moſt liable to deception, and the moſt laborious to deceive. The miſchief they circulate, is in proportion to their abilities, and that rank in life, which renders thoſe abilities conſpicuous. No honeſt man, of the preſent day, is concerned in the conduct of either Proteſtants or Catholics of any former age of a very different complexion, otherwiſe than by contraſting the cauſes and effects in the one, with thoſe in the other, and thereby removing

any

any ill impreſſions the public mind may ſtill retain, with reſpect to times ſo different from our own. This is placing a proper mirror before our eyes, and improving our minds and manners by the truth of the repreſentation.

To remove civil and religious prejudices, a proper diſtinction between times and things muſt be ſcrupulouſly obſerved, otherwiſe the concord and mutual co-operation of the people cannot be eaſily effected. The wiſdom of knowing and purſuing our proper intereſt, lies within a very narrow compaſs. It requires but little information to be convinced, that the Catholics of the preſent day, are not to be paralleled with thoſe that lived at the commencement of the Reformation, who had then the greateſt ſtake in this world to ſtruggle for, the religion then eſtabliſhed in this country, together with the power and poſſeſſions of their fathers, neither of which doth, nor can exiſt at preſent. Their inſurrections, in the reigns before the Revolution, were for the moſt part the contentions of diſtreſs with arbitrary power. Inſurrections

tions in the preſent day, would be the efforts of impious treachery, againſt a beneficent ſovereign and a lawful, mild, and protecting government; the defiance of the moſt awful inſtitutes of God and man.

THE man who ſets theſe matters in a clear light, renders an effectual ſervice to his country, and cannot fail to conciliate the affections of the candid, the wiſe, the lovers of liberty, and the lovers of truth. Conſcious of the rectitude of my intentions, I appear before the public with confidence, but an anxious humility as to the execution of the undertaking.

IT is a duty I owe to the public, to mention the ſources from whence I have deduced ſuch intelligence, as juſtifies me, either in placing tranſactions in a new light, or in forming any new opinion with reſpect to their cauſes and effects. The longer I reflect on the nature of hiſtorical compoſition, the more I am convinced that this ſcrupulous accuracy is neceſſary. The man who records the events of his own time is credited in proportion to the opinion which the public entertain with reſpect

to

to his means of information and veracity; but he who delineates the tranſactions of a remote period, has no title to claim aſſent, without adducing evidence in ſupport of his aſſertions. In thoſe ſentiments, I have been confirmed by authors, whom their induſtry, erudition and diſcernment, have juſtly placed in an exalted rank among the moſt eminent hiſtorians of the age. This duty, then, I perform with much ſatisfaction, as it will afford me an opportunity of expreſſing my gratitude to thoſe benefactors, who have honoured me with their countenance and aid in my reſearches.

I HAVE carefully conſulted Hume, Kennett, Ralph, Burnett, Walker, Harris, Geoghegan, Dalrymple, Smollett, Leland, Campbell, Crawford, and Simon; and the archieves of Trinity College, Oxford, and Cambridge. From theſe ſources I derived much uſeful information. I have only differed from Hume, in thoſe places, where I found that great writer under the influence of national prejudice, or groſs miſconception. I have departed from Dalrymple in ſome inſtances, particularly with reſpect to admiral Ruſſel's engagement with the French fleet, in the reign of

of William III. In his narrative of that tranſaction I find him much biaſſed; this opinion I am confirmed in by Doctor Somerville, as well as by my reſearches in the archieves of Cambridge. Throughout the entire work, I have ſeduloufly endeavoured to guard againſt party, and the falſe gloſs of intereſted writers; leſt it ſhould either miſlead, or deceive; a precaution abſolutely neceſſary, as I conſider every man who delivers his ſentiments to the public, reſponſible for their conſequences.

I FEEL a peculiar pleaſure in acknowledging my ſincere thanks to my truly learned friend Dr. O'Halloran, and to Capt. Ouſley, of Limerick, for their friendly communications and polite attention. To Mr. Ledſam, of Brookville, I owe many obligations, as alſo to Mr. William Daly, for his uſeful hints and judicious obſervations in the progreſs of the work.

I HAVE not ſtrictly adhered to arrangement in the narrative. In my digreſſions I imitate the pilot, who does not always ſteer to the place for which he holds, in a ſtraight line,

line, but often yields to the ſwell, often to the wind; and with ſhifting ſail, makes for that, which the inſtant ſtorm allows him, not that for which he firſt deſtined his courſe; that even from thence, he may at length attain the wiſhed-for port.

I HAVE endeavoured to ſhew that tithes are not that burthen on the peaſantry of which they ſo loudly complain, and that recent and former diſturbances in this kingdom owe not their origin to tithes, and, if at all concerned, that the reſolution of agiſtment was the cauſe.

I BEG leave to make my ſincere acknowledgments to my numerous and reſpectable ſubſcribers; and to every particular friend and correſpondent I ſend my moſt cordial thanks for their candid and unremitted attention to my various enquiries; for which I never will prove unmindful, and I hope the candour and impartiality I have diligently laboured to preſerve, will compenſate for the defects and imperfections unavoidable in the courſe of a work, for the completion

tion of which maturer years and ſuperior talents would have been indiſpenſably requiſite.

HAVING now fulfilled my engagement with the public, my labour cloſes, perhaps for ever. The indulgent reader will make a candid allowance for juvenile errors, which at a more mature age ſhall be rectified, ſhould I ever re-aſſume the pen. Foul revenge may, from ſome odious corner, attempt to blaſt my fortune or injure my reputation; cruelty and cowardice may level their ſhafts at my character and works, but innocence of heart and integrity of ſoul, will, as they have hitherto done, ſtill protect and defend me.

Nam integer vitæ ſceleriſque purus,
Non eget Mauri jaculis neque arcu.

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A

VIEW

OF

IRISH AFFAIRS, &c.

CHAP. I.

Introductory Obſervations.—The Revolution of 1688. *—The Cauſes and Conſequences of it.—*

ON a review of our hiſtory from the reign of Henry the II. to the Revolution of 1688, we find the calamities of the nation invariably flowing from public miſrule, barbarous manners, private intereſt, and the rage of parties. This rage was little affected by thoſe changes in religion, which had ſet Europe in a flame, for two ſucceſſive centuries. Popular phrenzy, vague principles, and the luſt of dominion, were at an early period implicated with our eccleſiaſtical conteſts; and the doctrine of Chriſtianity, which fatally had ſo ſmall an influence previous to the commence-

ment of thoſe conteſts, was attended with much leſs after. I propoſe not to dwell on ſuch melancholy ſcenes, we have too long been the dupes of ſhameful prejudices; my object is to eradicate ſuch diſtinctions as have ever engendered miſchief, and to reſtore that union and harmony which hath at all times been the wiſh of party to violate. Far be it from me to extenuate the known guilt of any party, or applaud the miſconduct of public oppreſſors.—Ireland, long waſted by its own ariſtocratical confuſion, and little improved by the too weak monarchy erected on its ruins, acceded to a foreign government, planned on the guilt, and introduced by the fraud of one of the national chiefs.—The people having changed from bad to worſe, inſtead of protection, found a wanton exerciſe of lawleſs and arbitary power; inſtead of peace, a mercileſs war made on human nature, for 350 years without intermiſſion; inſtead of merciful governors, purchaſed at the expence of enormous poſſeſſions, a ſet of turbulent free-booters, who denied the unfortunate natives the benefit of the Engliſh laws, and of all laws human and divine. It is no wonder that a nation thus treated; and thus delivered over to

to utter extermination, ſhould ſeek redreſs by the force of arms. As far as the cruel ſtate of anarchy eſtabliſhed amongſt them permitted, they ſought and found ſome redreſs in reſiſtance. They made efforts to regain liberty by the means of force, when they found it in vain to ſeek that bleſſing by any other! Indeed, all the little happineſs they enjoyed for near 400 years, they owed to the ſad expedient of War alone! And yet this ſtate of things was not occaſioned by the inhumanity of one ſet of eccleſiaſtics againſt another; but to the inhumanity of catholics againſt catholics. This ſhews how little the formal identity of religion is ſufficient to ſecure human kind againſt human treachery; it can only be ſaid of religious conformity that it is a leſs evil in the world, than a religious diſcord; ſince the true purpoſes of treachery, or the pretenſions of zeal can be detected with much more certainty in the firſt caſe, than in the ſecond. To oppreſſive governments a different mode of God's worſhip, is generally almoſt all crimes in one: this makes the ſolution of all moral as well as political evil extremely eaſy; and here alone oppreſſion finds the moſt commodious

juſtification of all its meaſures. This the firſt oppreſſors of Ireland wanted; therefore, as a juſtification, they were obliged to aſcribe to the peculiar obſtinacy of the Iriſh nation what they could not to their religion. By ſuch ridiculous pretext they juſtified all their outrages. The pretexts in difference of nation can never impoſe long: thoſe in difference of religion are of greater duration and of worſe conſequences. But theſe conſequences, miſchievous as they are, will operate much leſs towards public miſery, when knowledge and national wiſdom unite to bring their cauſes under a ſtricter examination, than they have hitherto undergone. Religion, good or bad, is the beſt teſt we have for the probity of men. Its votaries, through the ſeduction of ſome, and ignorant zeal of others, may at ſome periods torture the ſacred text to defend bad meaſures, and rotten principles. But ſuch an evil is temporary, it is the duty of government and the perfection of patriotiſm to do it away. Then the tranſient effects of tranſient policy would ceaſe; and if union on the tenets of religion could not be obtained, an union on civil principles might; to ſuch an union

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no good governor will be an obſtacle, nay he will be active in making the diſcrimination we here contend for.

On the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, it may be obſerved with truth, that one party was puniſhed without mercy, and the other, without ſound policy. Her intereſt led her, and the ſucceſs of her father and brother encouraged her to change the eſtabliſhed religion in England. This ſhe effected; but the truth obliges us to confeſs, that the new church was erected on the foundations of perſecution. The change was effected by a ſudden effort of legiſlative power; but without that moderation, which time, rather than human wiſdom, exerts in eſtabliſhments of this nature.—This evil of perſecution encreaſed during the following reigns; when the three kingdoms, for the firſt time, were ſubject to one ſovereign.

James, I. whom the trumpeters of political lies charged with favouring popery, was its greateſt enemy. His adminiſtration in Ireland is an almoſt continued proof of this aſſertion,

his trimming conduct towards the Catholics in England, is no proof to the contrary; for they gained nothing by the lures he held out to them. Charles, his ſucceſſor, ruinouſly trod in his ſteps. The Scottiſh covenanters ~~would~~ would not bear the introduction, of what they deemed a ſuperſtitious liturgy among them. They ſought redreſs in inſurrection; and the parliament then ſitting at Weſtminſter, approved of their conduct. The Iriſh dreading the worſt from the republican ſpirit that now exiſted in Britain, entertained the thoughts of availing themſelves of the preſent opportunity to ſhake off the bondage they groaned under for many years before. But this they deſigned to effectuate by legal means. Truth warrants me in aſſerting, that the Iriſh wanted to redreſs grievances by legal and conſtitutional means. They were firmly attached to monarchy: they were loyal to the reigning prince, notwithſtanding the unworthineſs of his deputies who betrayed both him and them. The deſperate meaſures, which many adopted ſoon after, were occaſioned by the adjournment of the ſeſſions of parliament in 1641, ſo contrary to the king's order as well as intereſt. A part,

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and not all, aroſe in Ulſter and ſought relief in reſiſtance; the continuation of the ſeſſion, together with paſſing ſome bills into laws purſuant to his majeſty's deſire, would have completely prevented the murders and maſſacres that enſued; and which are to be ſolely aſcribed to the perfidious treachery of the lords'-juſtices.

It is a pity ſo ſenſible a writer as Mr. Hume, ſhould be ſo much miſled into different accounts of theſe matters; a wound from ſuch a hand is painful: but it is far from being mortal, in an age wherein hiſtory may be written and adorned, but cannot poſſibly be created. The miſrepreſentations of Sir John Temple and others, Mr. Hume has drawn out on a new canvas, heightened by all the colouring of his art, as a fine painter; and the piece evidently coſt him much labour. Horror and pity are wrought up here, in high perfection: but happily, the Iriſh did not fit for the picture, and Mr. Hume can claim no other merit in this inſtance, but that of giving a wrong bias to the paſſions, he took ſo much pains to excite.—Far from being influenced by the ſpiritual zeal

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of any ſect, Mr. Hume has ſaid enough to condemn its exceſſes, in every party of thoſe miſerable and barbarous times. He laid open thoſe cancerous ſores, which ſtill gnaw into our minds, and have produced, what they ever muſt produce, party malevolence, party intereſts, perſecuting laws, perverſe judgments, and averſion from due information! It would be little expected that ſuch a writer, ſhould deviate in any inſtance from truth, and lay down the arms of philoſophy, to wield thoſe of ſpiritual hatred! Wherefore it is reaſonable to preſume, that nothing but miſtakes in matters of fact, could tempt him, to return ſuch weapons, with a new edge to inflamed adverſaries; but particularly to men, who in their anniverſary preachings, abandoned the road of charity and truth, to perpetuate animoſity, and wound the living by unjuſtifiable ſtrokes on the dead. By reviſing the remembrance of thoſe times, my object is to inſtruct, not to miſrepreſent; to pacify, not to ſlander. In my humble apprehenſion the confounding times and things, is making the worſt poſſible uſe of hiſtory; until we can make the proper diſtinction between them, civil and religious,

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prejudices muſt prevail, to the utter ruin of a country, ſo peculiarly circumſtanced, as to be incapable of a moment's happineſs without the mutual co-operation and concord of all its people.

FROM the reſtoration to the ſucceſſion of James II. the Iriſh manifeſted a ſpirit of loyalty to their ſovereign and obedience to the laws, which were highly commendable; but upon the acceſſion of that unfortunate and ill-guided prince, all the horrors of religious and civil intolerance burſt out with redoubled fury. The judicious part of the Catholic community, were diſguſted at the violent meaſures James purſued, in order to overturn Proteſtantiſm, but he being entirely governed by the raſh councils of the Queen and her confeſſor, thought it was neceſſary for him, particularly as he was in the decline of life, by haſty ſteps to carry his deſigns into execution; leſt the ſucceſſion of the Princeſs of Orange ſhould overturn all his projects. In vain did Arundel, Powis, and Bellaſis remonſtrate, and ſuggeſt more moderate and guarded meaſures. Theſe men had ſeen and experienced, the furious antipathy which the nation

nation bore to popery; and though ſome ſubſequent incidents had apparently allayed that ſpirit, they knew that the ſettled habits of the nation were ſtill the ſame, and that the ſmalleſt incident was ſufficient to renew the former animoſity. A very moderate indulgence to their religion would have ſatisfied them; and all attempts to acquire power, much more to operate a change of national faith, they conſidered both dangerous and deſtructive. Among all the engines of authority formerly exerciſed by the crown, none had a more pernicious or even deſtructive tendency to liberty, than the court of High Commiſſion, which, together with the Star Chamber, had been aboliſhed in the reign of Charles I. by act of parliament; where a clauſe was alſo inſerted, prohibiting the erection of that court, or any of a like nature. So poſitive and imperious was James in his councils, that this law was deemed no obſtacle; and an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was anew iſſued, by which ſeven commiſſioners were inveſted with full and unlimited authority over the entire church of England. The king's deſign to ſubdue the church was

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now ſufficiently known; and had he been able to eſtabliſh the authority of this new erected court, his ſucceſs was infallible. A more ſenſible blow could not be given both to national liberty and religion; and happily the conteſt could not be tried in a cauſe more unjuſt and unpopular than that againſt Sharpe and the Biſhop of London.—Almoſt the entire of this ſhort reign conſiſts of attempts, either imprudent or illegal, and commonly both, againſt whatever was moſt loved and revered by the nation: even ſuch ſchemes of the King's as might be laudable in themſelves, were ſo diſgraced with theſe intentions, that they ſerve only to aggravate the charge againſt him.

JAMES much more imprudent, headſtrong, and arbitrary than his brother, iſſued a proclamation, ſuſpending all the penal laws in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects. He was not deterred by the conſideration, that this ſcheme of indulgence was already blaſted by two fruitleſs attempts; and that in ſuch a government as that of England, it was not ſufficient

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that a prerogative be approved of by a few prejudiced lawyers and antiquarians. If it was condemned by the general voice of the nation, and yet was ſtill exerted, the victory over national liberty was equally ſignal as if obtained by the moſt flagrant injuſtice and uſurpation.

THESE two conſiderations indeed would rather ſerve to recommend this project to James, who conſidered himſelf ſuperior in vigour and activity to his brother, and who certainly thought his people enjoyed no liberties but by his royal conceſſion and indulgence. In order to preſerve a better reception for his edict of toleration, the king finding himſelf oppoſed by the church, paid court to the Diſſenters; in the expectation of playing one party againſt the other, he would thereby eaſily obtain a victory over both; a policy too refined for his capacity to carry into execution. But his intention was ſo obvious, that it was impoſſible for him to gain the regard and ſincere confidence of the Diſſenters; for had they been ever ſo much diſpoſed to cloſe their eyes with regard to James's deſigns, the manner of conducting his ſcheme in Scotland,

Scotland, was fully [illegible] to diſcover the ſecret. The king firſt applied to the Scotch parliament, and deſired a toleration for Catholics alone, without including the Preſbyterians; but that aſſembly firmly reſolved not to ſacrifice their civil liberties, and pertinaciouſly determined to adhere to their religion, now for the firſt time rejected the king's application. James therefore found himſelf obliged to uſe his prerogative, and he conſidered it prudent to intereſt a party of his people, beſides the Catholics, to ſupport this act of prerogative. The haraſſed and perſecuted Preſbyterians, to their great aſtoniſhment, heard the principles of toleration every where extolled, and found that permiſſion was granted to attend conventicles, an offence which had been declared no leſs than a capital crime, even during this reign. However the king's declaration of toleration contained articles ſufficient to damp their joy. James declared that he never would uſe force, nor *invincible neceſſity*, againſt any man on account of his religious perſuaſion. It is likewiſe remarkable, that James declared in expreſs terms, that he had thought fit, by his ſovereign authority, prerogative royal, and

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abſolute power, which, *without reſerve*, all his ſubjects were to obey, to grant this royal toleration.

THE dangerous ſchemes of other princes may be collected by a compariſon of their ſeveral actions; but ſo infatuated was James with blind zeal, ſo tranſported with his haughty diſpoſition, that even his proclamations and edicts contain ſentiments which may ſuffice to his condemnation, without any farther inveſtigation. But what afforded the moſt alarming proſpect, was, the violent and precipitate management of Iriſh affairs.

THE Catholics were put in poſſeſſion of the council table, of the courts of judicature, of the benches of juſtice. The charters of Dublin, and of all the corporations, were recalled; and new charters were granted, which ſubjected the corporations to the abſolute will of the ſovereign. The Proteſtant freemen were expelled, Catholics introduced, and the latter ſect being in number the majority, were now inveſted with the whole power of the Kingdom.

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The act of ſettlement was the only bar to their enjoying the whole property; and Tyrconnel deſigned to convene a parliament, in order to reveſre that act. But in this violent ſcheme, he met with oppoſition from the more cautious Catholics in the King's council. Lord Bellaſis went ſo far as to affirm with an oath, that "the fellow in Ireland was fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms." James, not ſatisfied with exhibiting the imprudence of his conduct in his own kingdoms, determined that all Europe ſhould be witneſs of it. He publicly ſent an ambaſſador to Rome in order to expreſs his obedience to his holineſs, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the Catholic communion.

The Pope, little pleaſed with this forward ſtep, reaſonably concluded, that a plan ſo indiſcreetly conducted, could never be crowned with ſucceſs. The only mark of complaiſance which James received from the Pope was his ſending a nuncio into England in return for the embaſſy; for his Holineſs, at the time, was involved in a violent quarrel with the French Monarch, which intereſted him much more than the converſion of England, wherefore

fore he bore little regard to James, conſidering him too cloſely united with his inveterate enemy.—While James oppoſed, in the moſt open manner, all the principles and prejudices of his Proteſtant ſubjects, he could not but at times be ſenſible, that he required their aſſiſtance in the execution of his ſchemes; and although by virtue of his prerogative he had ſuſpended the penal laws and diſpenſed with the teſt, yet he would gladly have obtained the ſanction of parliament to theſe acts of power, as he was ſenſible that without this authority, his edicts *alone* would never afford ſufficient ſecurity to the Catholics. He therefore uſed every means in his power to break the obſtinacy of the parliament in this particular. But finding all his efforts ineffectual he diſſolved the parliament, and reſolved to convene a new one, from whom he expected at leaſt more ſubmiſſion. James's power at this time was exorbitant, his revenue ſo conſiderable and independent that if he had embraced any national party, he might have carried his authority to what extent he pleaſed. But the Catholics, to whom he attached himſelf, were not the one hundreth part of the people. James therefore finding little hopes of ſucceſs, protracted

tracted the election of a parliament, and ſtill proceeded in the exerciſe of his illegal and arbitrary authority. In Ireland Tyrconnel reſolved to inveſt the Catholics with the whole power of the kingdom, particularly that of modelling all future parliaments: He addreſſed himſelf to the city of Dublin, and recommended them to ſurrender their charter to the king. The citizens heſitated to adopt a meaſure, for which not even a plauſible pretence had been aſſigned. At length, Tyrconnel in a rage of diſappointment, loaded them with reproaches and menaced them with all the indignation of the royal vengeance. It being in vain to expoſtulate with the Lord Deputy on the impropriety of his requiſition, the citizens of Dublin, by the hands of their recorder, preſented a petition to the king, ſtating their zealous attachment to his perſon and government, and imploring the continuance of their charter. The application was rejected with ſcorn. A *quo warranto* was immediately iſſued, and judgment ſuddenly pronounced againſt their charter. Many other corporations were ſoon after diſſolved by the ſame procedure; and ſome were influenced to ſurrender their charters by promiſes and

menaces. Previous to the removal of lord Clarendon, the king's mandate had been preſented to the governors of the univerſity, directing them to admit one Green, a Roman Catholic, to a profeſſorſhip. It was ignorantly ſtyled a profeſſorſhip of the Iriſh language. The emoluments, therefore, as well as the office exiſted only in imagination; but tho' Greene was thus diſappointed, the univerſity expected with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions, ſome farther attacks on their privileges. In this ſituation they reſolved to convert moſt of their plate into money, for the purpoſe of erecting new buildings, or purchaſing lands. They had procured the conſent of their viſitors for this project. But Tyrconnel having in the mean time arrived, and being informed of the tranſaction, ſeized the plate in the port of Dublin, and depoſited it in the king's ſtores. The more moderate however of his adviſers prevailed upon him to reſtore it to the univerſity.

The whole kingdom now reſounded with complaints of the meanneſs, ignorance and inſolence of their rulers; while the alarming ſtate of the revenue made an adequate impreſſion on

on the minds of thoſe Engliſh miniſters, whoſe views were not ſolely confined to the promotion of the king's ſchemes. The miſconduct of Tyrconnel was ſolely blamed as the occaſion of this ferment, which occaſioned an urgent application to the king to appoint a wiſer and more temperate governor of Ireland. To avert the impending ſtorm, the deputy obtained permiſſion to attend his royal maſter, accompanied by Rice, chief baron of the Exchequer, the latter of whom made ſuch plauſible repreſentations of the ſtate of Ireland, ſolely deſigned to recommend his patron, that the king, without heſitation, reſtored the deputy, to his government, where he continued to proceed with his uſual violence. The next ſtep of the court was an inſult of ſtill a more open nature on the whole claſs of the eccleſiaſtics, and which rendered the breach between James and that powerful body fatal, as well as incurable. It is ſomewhat ſurprizing that James, when he felt from the ſentiments of his own mind, what a mighty influence religious zeal had over himſelf, could be ſo infatuated as never once to ſuſpect, that it might poſſibly have a proportionate authority over his ſubjects. Could he have profited from experience, he had ſeen inſtances enough of their ſtrong

averſion towards that communion, which he was violently determined to introduce into this kingdom.

JAMES publiſhed a ſecond mandate of toleration almoſt in ſimilar terms with the former; and he ſubjoined an order that it ſhould be read by the clergy in all churches, immediately after divine ſervice. This clauſe the clergy conceived to be meant as an inſult on them, and they were ſenſible that by their compliance they would be expoſed to public contempt, on account of their tame behaviour, and to public hatred, by indirectly patronizing ſo obnoxious a prerogative. They therefore beſought the king, that he would not inſiſt upon their compliance with ſuch an order, but he was incapable, not only of ſubmitting to the greateſt oppoſition, but of allowing the ſlighteſt and moſt reſpectful contradictions to paſs unpuniſhed. He immediately embraced a reſolution of puniſhing the biſhops for their diſobedience; who forthwith were ſent to the tower, on their refuſal to give bail, but to the infinite joy of the whole kingdom they were honourably acquitted. James was ſtill determined to ruſh forward in

in the ſame courſe into which already by his precipitation he had ſo far advanced. He iſſued orders to proſecute all thoſe clergymen who had not read his declaration; he ſent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he obtruded on Magdalen College, to elect for preſident one Giffard, a doctor of the Sorbonne; and he is ſaid to have nominated the ſame perſon to the ſee of Oxford. So great an infatuation is perhaps an object of compaſſion rather than of anger: and is really aſtoniſhing in a man, who in other reſpects, was far from being deficient in ſenſe and accompliſhments.

1688. WHILST every motive, civil, and religious, concurred to alienate from the king every denomination and rank of men, it might be preſumed, that his throne would inſtantly fall to pieces by its own weight. But ſuch is the influence of eſtabliſhed government; ſo averſe are men from undertaking hazardous enterprizes, that had not the nation received aſſiſtance from abroad, affairs might long have continued in their preſent delicate ſituation, and James might perhaps at laſt have ſucceeded in his raſh and ill-concerted projects.

Since the Prince of Orange's marriage with James's daughter, he supported a prudent and cautious conduct; he apparently concerned himself very little in English affairs, and he took particular care to avoid giving offence or disgust to any of the factions, or even to James himself. His interest as well as inclination prompted him to apply himself assiduously in continental affairs, and to oppose the power of the French monarch, against whom, he had conceived the most violent hatred, from personal as well as political motives. By such conduct the Prince of Orange, gratified the prejudices of the English nation; but as he thwarted the Spanish Monarch's wishes, who sought for peace, by a compliance with France, he sunk much in the esteem of that Prince.

James, on his coming to the throne, perceiving it to be his interest to preserve an intimacy and be on good terms with the Prince of Orange, on many occasions gave proofs of his friendship for him, and the Prince on his part was not wanting in apparent regard and duty towards James.

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On Monmouth's invaſion, the Prince of Orange diſpatched to James's aſſiſtance, ſix regiments of Engliſh troops, which were in the Dutch ſervice, and even propoſed to take the command of James's forces againſt the rebels. However much the Prince diſliked the maxims of the king's Government, he preſerved a ſilence on the ſubject and gave no countenance to thoſe diſcontents which were with ſuch aſſiduity diſſeminated throughout the kingdom.

Notwithstanding James had entertained lofty ideas of his own prerogative, yet he found that the edicts iſſued by it, wanted much of the authority of the laws, and the continuance of them would in the end become dangerous, both to himſelf, and to the Catholics, whom he deſired to favour. An act of the legiſlature *alone* could eſtabliſh the toleration, which he endeavoured to effect, wherefore he ſolicited the conſent of the Prince of Orange to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes, and of the teſt, hoping if the Prince would declare in favour of that meaſure, the parliament would at laſt be prevailed with to adopt it. And in order to engage the Prince to concur with

with his views, hopes were given that England would eſpouſe all thoſe enterprizes which the Princes's active and extenſive mind had ſo ſucceſsfully planned on the Continent. The Prince of Orange was ſenſible, that the king of Spain, and the Emperor of Germany, were incenſed at the repeated ill uſage and injuries which they had ſuffered from the ambition of Lewis XIV. the Prince knew the weight of theſe Monarchs with the Catholic Princes of the Empire, and he himſelf had acquired a great aſcendancy amongſt the Proteſtant Princes; he therefore planned the the project of leaguing Europe in a general confederacy againſt the encroachments of France, which already ſeemed to menace the liberty and independence of all its neighbours.

No characters are perhaps more incompatible than thoſe of a perſecutor and a conqueror, and Lewis ſoon perceived that by the baniſhment of ſo many of his uſeful ſubjects, he had not only weakened his own dominions, but had inflamed all the Proteſtant ſtates againſt him. Amſterdam and other cities of Holland, had dropped all their private factions, on account

count of the furious perſecutions in France of the Hugonots, and united themſelves cloſely to the Prince of Orange; while the Proteſtant Princes of the Empire formed a ſeparate league for the defence of their religion.

The people of England were anew incenſed at the blind bigotry of their ſovereign, and were ready to adopt the moſt deſperate reſolutions againſt him: it appears evidently from a view of the ſtate of Europe at this period, that Lewis XIV. had not only ſullied and tarniſhed an illuſtrious reign, but by this wanton perſecution had created inſurmountable barriers to his arms which otherwiſe, it would be extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to oppoſe. The Prince of Orange availed himſelf of all theſe advantages; and by his influence and intrigues, a confederacy was entered into at Augſburg, where the entire Empire joined in its defence againſt Lewis. Holland and Spain became parties in the league. Savoy afterwards acceded to it; and Sweden and Denmark favoured the ſame cauſe; but ſtill the league was deemed unequal to its end and imperfect; ſo long as England maintained that neutrality, in which

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ſhe had hitherto continued. However James might be more bigoted than his brother, yet he was at leaſt more ſenſible to his own and to national honour than Charles, and were he not enſlaved by the former motive, he would have ſupported the intereſt and independence of his kingdoms with more ſpirit. Therefore, when he entertained the hopes of promoting his religious views by oppoſing the ſchemes of France, he was not averſe to that meaſure; and he gave the Prince of Orange reaſon to preſume, that he would ſecond his projects, provided the Prince would concur with his ſchemes in England.—This certainly was a tempting offer to a Prince ſo ambitious of promoting his own views as the Prince of Orange was; but the obſtacles to that meaſure, appeared to him upon deliberation, inſuperable. He obſerved that James had excited the violent hatred of his own ſubjects, and that great fears were entertained of his deſigns. The Prince was apprehenſive ſhould he concur in theſe deteſted meaſures, he would bring on himſelf the odium, under which James laboured; and that he himſelf might riſk the loſing a ſucceſſion, which was awaiting him, and which he had even hopes of enjoying, before

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it ſhould by the courſe of nature devolve to him, by the egregious indiſcretion of James. Therefore the Prince of Orange, would only conſent to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes, by which the non-conformiſts as well as the Catholics were expoſed to puniſhment; but he eſteemed the teſt as a ſecurity abſolutely expedient for the preſervation of the eſtabliſhed religion. James was much diſpleaſed on this occaſion, and took every opportunity to ſhew his diſpleaſure, as well againſt the Prince of Orange as the United States.—He gave the Algerine pirates, who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his ports, and alſo liberty to diſpoſe of their prizes. He renewed ſome complaints of the Eaſt India Company, and required the ſix Engliſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice to be ſent over, and began to put his navy in a formidable ſtate. From all theſe movements the Dutch were apprehenſive that James ſought only an occaſion of making war upon them. The Prince on his part reſolved to carry on matters with more energy. He ſedulouſly endeavoured to preſerve the attachment of the Proteſtants to his intereſt, and to keep them firm in their preſent union againſt the Catholics. The Prince was conſcious that the

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men of higher rank were for the moſt part retained in their religion,—more by honour than principle; and altho' every one was aſhamed to become the firſt convert; however if the example was once ſet by any perſon of diſtinction, policy and intereſt would daily make rapid converſions to a religion which was ſo zealouſly encouraged and promoted by the king. The Prince of Orange immediately diſpatched an envoy to England, who was to remonſtrate with the king on his conduct at home and abroad, and had private directions to apply on behalf of the Prince to every denomination and ſect, in a becoming manner. The Prince ſent aſſurances to the Proteſtants of favour and regard, and aſſured them that his Holland education had not in any reſpect prejudiced him againſt epiſcopal government; he exhorted the Diſſenters to beware of the fallacious careſſes of a Popiſh court, but to wait patiently until in due time Proteſtants ſhould grant them that toleration, which with ſo much juſtice they had long demanded. Dykvelt, the Prince's envoy, executed his commiſſion with ſuch ingenuity that moſt of theconſiderable perſonages both in church and ſtate, made ſecret application through him

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to the Prince of Orange; and all orders of men looked wiſhfully towards Holland. However there exiſted ſome cauſes, which retained all parties in awe, and prevented them from breaking out into inſtant violence. The Prince was afraid of riſking by an invaſion, an inheritance, which the laws enſured to the Princeſs; and the Proteſtants, from the proſpect of her ſucceſſion, ſtill conceived hopes of a peaceable and ſafe redreſs of all their grievances. But upon the birth of the Prince of Wales, all theſe hopes vaniſhed, and the Engliſh ſaw no reſource but a mutual league in defence of their rights. How ſhort ſighted is human policy! No event was ſo ardently wiſhed for by James as the birth of the Prince of Wales, as he conceived the firm eſtabliſhment of his throne would be the conſequence, but what he had ſo long made the object of his prayers, proved the inſtant cauſe of his downfall and deſtruction.

All faction was for a time laid aſleep in England, and Whigs and Tories, forgetting their animoſity, had ſecretly combined in the deſign of oppoſing their miſguided and unhappy Prince. Even Sunderland the king's favourite

favourite minister, is believed to have entered into a correspondence with the Prince; and at the expence of his own honour and his master's interest, to have privately embraced a cause which he supposed was likely to be so soon predominant. The ties of affinity had little influence over a person of the Prince of Orange's rank and disposition; or should he even be reproached for violating the duties of private life, yet the glory of delivering an oppressed nation, would, he hoped, in the opinion of all rational men, be able to make sufficient compensation. Therefore the Prince was resolved to yield to the application of England and to undertake the defence of a nation, which regarded him as its sole protector. The Prince of Orange could not reasonably expect on the commencement of his undertaking, that it would lead him to ascend the English throne; but he unquestionably foresaw that its success would establish his authority in that nation. It must be confessed that altho' the Prince of Orange's virtue was far from being pure, yet during his life he was extremely happy in the different situations in which he was placed; for his actions and conduct contributed largely to the general interests

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of ſociety. So fortunate was the diſpoſition of his affairs, and ſo ſecret were his determinations, that little ſuſpicion was entertained of his real intentions to invade England. The Prince's enterprize was yet a ſecret to James, when Tyrconnel received intelligence from Amſterdam of his deſign, and conveyed it to the king, by whom and Sunderland it was treated with deriſion. James was ſo fully perſuaded of the ſacredneſs of his own authority, that he imagined a ſimilar belief had impreſſed his ſubjects, wherefore notwithſtanding the ſtrong ſymptoms of diſcontent that exiſted amongſt his people, his confidence in his army was ſuch, that he truſted, that in caſe of an invaſion, he would eaſily be able to repel, not only foreign force, but alſo to ſuppreſs any commotion among the people.

When the Prince of Orange could no longer, with *all* his artifice, conceal his real intentions on England; Lewis XIV. offered James every aſſiſtance in his power to repel the intended invaſion. But ſuch was the delicate and perplexing ſituation of the king's affairs, that he was afraid of accepting of Lewis's propoſal. He apprehended that the

the introduction of a body of auxiliaries at this time might breed diſcontents among his own troops and that the old ſuſpicion of a confederacy againſt Holland, and againſt the Proteſtant religion might be revived; wherefore he rejected Lewis's propoſal. Lewis conſidered James's intereſt ſo cloſely connected with his own, that at the inſtance of the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, Lewis ſent orders to the French Reſident at the Hague, to remonſtrate with the ſtates againſt the preparations, they were making againſt England. This remonſtrance had a bad effect, and ſet the ſtates in a flame. Even James was diſpleaſed with Lewis's officious conduct on the occaſion. He recalled his miniſter Skelton from Paris, and threw him into the Tower for his raſh conduct, and he ſolemnly declared that no alliance whatſoever of a private nature ſubſiſted between him and Lewis. However the ſtates affected to appear incredulous on that ſubject; and the Engliſh, vaſtly prejudiced againſt their king, poſitively believed that a plan was concerted with Lewis for their total ſubjugation. Such ſuggeſtions were every where diſperſed abroad, and they tended not a little to encreaſe the diſcontents, of which both the Navy and Army,

as well as the people, diſcovered daily the moſt glaring proofs. James finding himſelf oppoſed by all the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers of the kingdom, determined to appeal to the military, who, if unanimous, he thought were alone able to effectuate all his purpoſes. His deſign was to engage all the regiments, one after another, to give their conſent to the repeal of the teſt and penal ſtatutes; the firſt regiment that was drawn out, were told that they were required either to concur with his majeſty's views in thoſe particulars, or to lay down their arms. James was aſtoniſhed to find, that, (two captains and a few catholic ſoldiers excepted) the whole regiment inſtantly preferred the latter part of the alternative. For ſome moments he remained ſpeechleſs; but recovering from his ſurprize, he commanded them to take up their arms, adding with a ſullen air, that for the future, he would not do them the honour to aſk their advice. During this ſtate of affairs, James received a letter from the Marquis of Abbeville, his miniſter at the Hague, which informed him to a certainty, that he might immediately expect a powerful invaſion from Holland. James's eyes were now opened, and he perceived him-

ſelf on the verge of a precipice, which his deluſions had hitherto concealed from his view. He ſaw no reſource, but in a ſudden recall of all thoſe unfortunate meaſures, which had cauſed ſo many enemies foreign and domeſtic. He courted the Dutch and propoſed to enter into a league with them, he reſtored all the magiſtrates, who had been deprived of their commiſſionson, account of their adherence to the teſt and penal ſtatutes: he reſtored the charters of all the corporations, and annulled the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, while he careſſed thoſe biſhops whom he had ſo lately proſecuted and inſulted. But all theſe meaſures were regarded as ſymptoms of fear, and not of ſincerity or repentance. Nay ſo unfortunate was James in his prepoſſeſſions, that in the midſt of all his diſtreſs, he was ſo impolitic at the baptiſm of the young prince, as to appoint the Pope to be one of his ſponſors.

A. D. 1688. Before the Prince of Wales's birth, a report was widely ſpread abroad, that a ſuppoſitious child was to be impoſed on the people; which ridiculous and abſurd propagation might have been eaſily quaſhed in the beginning; yet by James's diſdaining, through haughtineſs, to ſatisfy the public

public on the ſubject, the foul calumny gained ground, and made ſo deep an impreſſion, that he was conſtrained to ſubmit to the painful neceſſity of aſcertaining the reality of that birth. In the mean time, the Prince of Orange's declaration was diſperſed over the kingdom, and received general approbation. All the grievances of the nation were there fully ſtated and enumerated. The prince declared that his intention in coming to England was, to redreſs theſe grievances, and not with any view of conqueſt whatſoever; and that although James, from motives of fear, had pretended to redreſs ſome of the grievances complained of; yet there ſtill remained a foundation upon which they could in a moment be again erected,—an arbitrary and deſpotic power in the Crown; and that nothing could rectify this uſurpation, but a full and explicit declaration in a free parliament of all the rights of the people.—On the firſt aſſurance of an invaſion, Tyrconnel was directed to tranſport four thouſand forces from Ireland to England.

The Iriſh Catholics ſtill affected to deſpiſe the attempts of the Prince of Orange, until advice had arrived that the prince had ac-

tually landed in England; that he was advancing to the Capital, and that James was deſerted by his ſubjects. The chief governor and his adherents now ſunk into conſternation. Tyrconnel forgetful of his pride, deſcended to flatter the proteſtants and courted them, in order that they might make a favourable repreſentation of his conduct. In the mean time, new commiſſions were iſſued by the deputy for levying forces; and in all parts of the kingdom an armed rabble ſtarted up, under the name of the king's ſoldiers, who ſupported themſelves by open depredations. Univerſal conſternation took place among the proteſtants, many of them fled to England, others ſought ſhelter in walled towns and proteſtant ſettlements, leaving their effects and habitations to the mercy of their enemy.

In the northern counties, where the proteſtants were moſt numerous they collected their arms, reſolving to defend themſelves, and even meditated the deſign of riſing againſt the preſent government: Derry was the city which afforded them the principal protection and ſhelter. Seated on the left of Lough Foyle, it had a communication by a ferry, with the county, from

from which it derived its name. Although it was ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall, ſtrengthened by baſtions, it was by no means capable of maintaining a ſiege againſt a regular army.—On the firſt alarm of the Prince of Orange's invaſion in England, Tyrconnel recalled the garriſon of this city to Dublin; but ſoon ſenſible of his error in leaving Derry to the government of the citizens, he detached a body of forces thither, in order to take up their quarters in the place. The apprehenſion of a maſſacre determined the citizens of Derry, to refuſe theſe troops admiſſion, and at the moment the troops were approaching the city, the populace, ſeized with an enthuſiaſtic ardour, drew their ſwords, made themſelves maſters of the keys of the city, raiſed the draw bridge, and ſecured all the gates: they immediately tranſmitted to London an account of their ſituation and danger, and ſolicited aid from the Prince of Orange. But the magiſtrates and graver citizens, fearful of the iſſue, of an enterprize ſo diſadvantageouſly undertaken, addreſſed themſelves to the deputy, through the mediation of Lord Mountjoy. They ſtated their inability to controul or reſtrain the populace; terrified by the rumours

of a maſſacre, and declared their determination to confine themſelves totally to ſelf defence, without violating their allegiance. Tyrconnel, endeavoured to correct his error in withdrawing the garriſon from Derry, when too late to rectify it. A detachment of ſix companies under the command of Lord Mountjoy, was ordered to Ulſter to reduce this city. Mountjoy being a proteſtant was highly acceptable to the people, who however abhorred his forces. After various conferences Mountjoy was admitted upon conditions. It was particularly ſtipulated, that a free pardon ſhould be granted in the ſpace of fifteen days; and that in the interval, two companies only ſhould be quartered in the city; and that the forces afterwards admitted ſhould be formed of at leaſt one half proteſtants; and that the citizens ſhould keep the guard until the pardon was received; and that all thoſe who wiſhed to remove ſhould be left at liberty. Mountjoy aſſumed the command of the city, and was obeyed as a friend and an aſſociate. The example of Derry excited a generous emulation among the northern proteſtants; and Enniſkillen and many other towns refuſed admiſſion to Tyrconnel's army. In the mean time

time, Tyrconnel trembled in the capital, and ſeemed on the point of abandoning the kingdom. The Prince of Orange was now too much engaged in England, to attend to the affairs of Ireland. But what he had neither leiſure nor power to attempt openly; he laboured to accompliſh ſecretly with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, a catholic general, ſent into England on the firſt alarm of an invaſion, was in ſome ſort his priſoner; this officer had ſerved in France with reputation, but was baniſhed on account of his imprudent addreſſes to the king's daughter. He was recommended to the Prince of Orange, as a perſon, who had conſiderable influence with Tyrconnel, and as he expreſſed the utmoſt confidence of perſuading the deputy to reſign the government of Ireland, the prince readily embraced the overture, that Hamilton ſhould repair thither for that purpoſe. When Hamilton arrived at Dublin, inſtead of executing his commiſſion, he adviſed Tyrconnel to retain poſſeſſion of his government; aſſuring him, that the affairs of England began to aſſume an aſpect favourable to James, and that nothing but the firmneſs of his friends was neceſſary to reinſtate him.

The deputy adopted Hamilton's advice, and employed him in Ireland; however he ſtill found it expedient to diſſemble, and therefore aſſured the proteſtant lords, of his readineſs to ſubmit to the Prince of Orange. The deputy ſo much impoſed on lord Mountjoy by his plauſible profeſſions of loyalty, that this nobleman was perſuaded to repair to James, in conjunction with the chief baron Rice, to repreſent the weak condition of Ireland, and the neceſſity of yielding to the times, inſtead of exaſperating his Engliſh ſubjects, by a fruitleſs attempt to conquer England with Iriſh forces. Mountjoy, after ſome ſtipulations with Tyrconnel in favour of the proteſtants, departed to execute his inſtructions; but on his arrival at Paris, was committed to the Baſtile, while Rice employed himſelf in ſoliciting ſuccours for the ſervice of James. Meanwhile Tyrconnel grew outrageous; and utterly denied the ſtipulations made with Mountjoy; he wreſted the arms yet remaining in the hands of the proteſtants from them in every place ſubject to his power; ſeized their horſes inſulted their perſons, and plundered their houſes. Temple, ſon of Sir William, at whoſe inſtance Hamilton had been ſent

ſent to Ireland, was ſo much affected at the melancholy iſſue of his advice, that in the bitterneſs of anguiſh, he put a period to his own life.

Let us now for a time turn our eyes towards England. On the Prince of Orange's approach to the capital, James found himſelf almoſt inſtantaneouſly abandoned, not only by his army but his friends and domeſtics; even his beloved daughter Anne forſook him. In the impetuoſity of ſuch popular currents as now prevailed, all private conſiderations are commonly loſt in the general paſſion; and the more principle a perſon poſſeſſes, the more apt he is on ſuch occurrences, to neglect his domeſtic duties. Although theſe conſiderations may in ſome manner account for the Princeſs Anne's behaviour on the occaſion, they had not at all prepared James to expect ſo aſtoniſhing an event. When the firſt intelligence of it was communicated to him, he burſt into tears. Certainly he beheld in this incident the final expiration of his royal authority; but the more intimate concern of a parent laid hold

hold of his heart, and in the extremity of his grief he exclaimed, "God help me, my own children have forſaken me."

It is remarkable, that James whoſe chief error conſiſted in indiſcretions and miſguided principles, ſhould be expoſed from religious antipathy, to ſuch treatment as Nero or Domitian never experienced from their friends and families.

James's fortune now expoſed him to the contempt of his enemies, and his conduct was not ſuch as could procure him the eſteem of his adherents Without fortitude to oppoſe the torrent, he preſerved not preſence of mind in yielding to it; but appeared in this juncture as caſt down with adverſity, as before he had been elated by proſperity. He ſummoned a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London; in conformity to their advice, he iſſued writs for a new parliament, and ſent commiſſioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. But theſe were the laſt acts he exerted of royal authority; for attending to imprudent council, by which he was prompted to deſert the throne he gratified his enemies beyond what their moſt ſanguine hopes could have promiſed them.

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The general defertion of the Proteſtants, made James regard the Catholics as his only ſubjects on whoſe advice he could depend; and the melancholy fate of his father furniſhed them a plauſible argument for making him apprehend a ſimilar end. But in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of men's minds, the great diſparity of circumſtances was not duly conſidered. When England was inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of Charles I. ought not to be conſidered a national act, but that of a fanatical army, impelled by a daring and enthuſiaſtic chief: for the whole kingdom had ever entertained the utmoſt abhorrence againſt that enormity. Therefore the ſituation of public affairs, no more reſembled what they were in Charles's time, than the Prince of Orange could in any reſpect be ſuppoſed a parallel to Oliver Cromwel.

James's friends had conceived a very falſe idea which they inſtilled into him; that nothing would cauſe more general confuſion, and more retard the public ſettlement than his deſertion of the kingdom. The Prince of Orange with ſolid reaſon had embraced the contrary opinion, for he found it extremely difficult

difficult to deviſe expedients for ſecuring the kingdom, whilſt James kept poſſeſſion of the throne; wherefore the prince, actuated by this public motive, and no leſs we may preſume by private ambition, reſolved to uſe every device which might intimidate James, and oblige him to abandon the throne. The Prince declined a perſonal conference with James's commiſſioners, and ſent the lords Oxford and Clarendon to treat with them.

The terms the prince propoſed almoſt implied an immediate participation of the ſovereignty; and he delayed not for a moment. the progreſs of his troops towards London. James every inſtant more and more alarmed with the proofs of a general revolt, not daring to confide in any but thoſe who were expoſed to more danger than himſelf, agitated by indignation towards ingratitude, and impelled by his own fears and thoſe of others; he raſhly embraced the reſolution of withdrawing into France; and ſo carefully had he concealed his intention, that nothing could equal the ſurprize which ſeized the city, the court, and the nation, on the diſcovery of this event. The better to involve all things

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in confuſion, James appointed none who ſhould, in his abſence, exerciſe any part of the government; he threw the Great Seal into the Thames, and recalled all thoſe writs which had been iſſued for elections to the new parliament. Some imagined that the ſole motive which induced James to this ſudden deſertion was a reluctance to meet a new parliament. But candour obliges us to ſay, that his ſubjects had firſt deſerted him and entirely loſt his confidence, that he had cauſe to entertain apprehenſions for his liberty, if not for his life, and that in his preſent circumſtances the conditions they would exact from him would be far from being moderate. By this temporary diſſolution of government; the populace were now maſters, and during their preſent ferment every diſorder might be apprehended from them. They roſe in a tumult and deſtroyed all the maſs-houſes, and attacked and plundered the houſes of the principal catholics. The Prince of Orange was not wanting to the tide of ſucceſs, which flowed in upon him, nor tardy in aſſuming that power, which the preſent exigency had put into his hands. Beſides the general popularity

rity which attended the prince, a new incident made his approach to the capital ſtill more agreeable. A rumour aroſe, the effect of chance, or more probably of deſign, that the diſbanded Iriſh had taken arms, and commenced an univerſal ſlaughter of the proteſtants in England. This ridiculous fabrication was diſperſed over the kingdom in an inſtant, and every where occaſioned the utmoſt conſternation.

It was really ſurpriſing how any of the catholics eſcaped, in the rage that naturally follows ſuch popular alarms. When almoſt every one, either from intereſt, principle, or averſion, had deſerted the unfortunate James, who had alſo abandoned his own cauſe; the the unwelcome tidings arrived that he had been ſeized by the populace at Feverſham, while he was endeavouring to make his eſcape in diſguiſe, and that although he had been much abuſed, that the gentry had interpoſed and protected him. As ſoon as this intelligence arrived, the Prince of Orange ſent poſitive orders that the king ſhould not approach nearer than Rocheſter; but the orders came too

too late; for James arrived already in the metropolis,—where the populace moved by commiſeration for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity received him with loud acclamations and applauſes. During James's ſtay at Whitehall, little attention was paid him by any perſon of diſtinction; and he himſelf diſcovered little intention of reſuming the reins of government, which he had recently thrown aſide. His authority was now evidently at an end. While poſſeſſed of power he exerciſed it with very imprudent and imperious councils, and he relinquiſhed it with a deſpondence, equally imprudent and puſillanimous. The Prince of Orange it may be juſtly ſuppoſed, never harboured a thought of offering violence to his unhappy father-in-law! But at the ſame time, he was ſenſible, that nothing would ſo effectually forward his own views, as James's retreat into France, a nation at all times ſo obnoxious to England. Wherefore the prince reſolved to puſh James to a meaſure, to which his own timidity had already fully inclined him.

THE Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, and to diſplace the Engliſh. Lord Feverſham having being ſent by James to the prince to requeſt a conference on the ſubject of an accommodation, in order to the public ſettlement, was areſted, under pretence of his not having a paſſport. A meſſage was brought to the king in bed after midnight from the prince, ordering him to quit the palace next morning, and to retire to a ſeat belonging to the Dutcheſs of Lauderdale.

JAMES requeſted permiſſion of retiring to Rocheſter, which was readily complied with. The prince had perceived that the artifice had taken effect; and that the king, terrified by harſh treatment, had renewed his former intention of quitting the kingdom. James obſerving that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all united in neglecting him, ſubmitted to his melancholy fate; and being entreated by urgent letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him, and arrived ſafe in France. Lewis received him with the greateſt generoſity ſympathy and eſteem, a behaviour that adds more

more to Lewis's glory than his moſt ſignal victories. Thus expired the reign of a king, who we may pronounce to have been more unfortunate than criminal, provided we conſider his perſonal character rather than his public conduct. He poſſeſſed many of thoſe qualities, which would compoſe a good ſovereign, were they not entirely immerſed in bigotry and arbitrary principles. In domeſtic life, his conduct merits approbation. When Duke of York, James was ſevere, but open in his enmities; brave in his enterprizes; diligent in his purſuits, and honourable in his dealings. When he aſcended the throne, his frugality of the public money was remarkable, his induſtry laudable; his encouragement of trade judicious, and his jealouſy of the national honour commendable: but he wanted a due regard to the conſtitution and religion of his country; this quality being wanting, every excellency he poſſeſſed, became dangerous and deſtructive to the realms he governed in.

While matters proceeded thus in England; Tyrconnel was confirmed in the proſecution of his meaſures in Ireland by a meſſenger

from James, with aſſurances that he would ſhortly viſit that kingdom at the head of a powerful armament.

THE deputy however, had ſuffered the northern aſſociators to proceed unmoleſted to a conſiderable height. On aſſurance of ſupplies from England, they boldly proclaimed William and Mary in the north eaſt towns; but their exultation was ſoon allayed by Tyrconnel. He commanded them by proclamation to lay down their arms, and to diſſolve their aſſemblies. General Hamilton marched againſt them with a formidable body of troops, and after various ſkirmiſhes, forced the northerns to haſten by different routs to Derry, as their laſt refuge.

AFTER the departure of Lord Mountjoy the government of the city of Derry had been committed to Lundy, a man who affected great attachment to the Proteſtant cauſe, and the utmoſt indignation at the tyrannical proceedings of Tyrconnel. However, on ſeveral accounts, Lundy was ſuſpected of partiality to James; yet ſo great was the Prince of Orange's

Orange's embarraſſment, that he was obliged to truſt and employ him.

At the moment when the citizens were extremely ſuſpicious of Lundy's deſigns, their agent fortunately arrived from London with aſſurances from the prince, that preparations were made for the relief and protection of Ireland. Animated by this information they now prepared for a vigorous defence. Lundy ſeemed to have caught the enthuſiaſm of the people and announced his reſolution of marching againſt the enemy.

CHAP. II.

James arrives in Ireland,—he marches againſt Londonderry.—The great Diſtreſs of Derry.—The Siege Raiſed.—Battle of Newtown-Butler. James aſſembles a Parliament.—His Declaration and Arbitrary Conduct.—The arrival of Schomberg in Ireland with an Army.—The Surrender of Carrickfergus—Great Diſtreſs of Schomberg's Army—The Crown ſettled on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange—The arrival of ſeven Thouſand Danes in Ireland.—James exchanges Iriſh for French Troops.

A. D. 1688. JAMES who had been earneſtly ſoliciting the court of France for ſuccour, at length obtained his requeſt. On the ſeventh of March this unhappy Monarch embarked at Breſt, with fourteen ſhips of war, ſix frigates, and three fire ſhips. His military forces conſiſted of about twelve hundred of his own ſubjects in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers; with theſe forces he arrived at Kinſale, and ſoon after made his public entry into Dublin amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. Addreſſes were inſtantly

inſtantly poured in upon him from all orders of the people. He returned to each the moſt gracious and conciliating anſwer; but his fairеſt declarations were received with coldneſs and ſuſpicion, when all the remaining proteſtants of the privy-council were removed and men of different principles ſubſtituted in their places. He now iſſued five ſeveral proclamations: by the firſt he ordered all proteſtants who had abandoned the kingdom to return and accept his protection, under the ſevereſt penalties; and that his ſubjects of every perſuaſion ſhould unite againſt the Prince of Orange; the ſecond was deſigned to ſuppreſs robberies, commanding all catholics not of his army, to lay up their arms in their reſpective abodes; the third invited the country to bring proviſions to his troops; by the fourth he raiſed the value of money; and by the laſt, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the ſeventh day of May, 1688.

Derry was conſidered by James as the place where his arms were likely to meet with the greateſt reſiſtance, and it therefore became the peculiar object of his attention. After various conſultations it was at laſt reſolved to

preſs the city by a ſlow ſiege; and James determined to lead his forces in perſon to the walls of Derry.

Amongst thoſe who took up arms againſt James, was George Walker, a clergyman and rector of a pariſh in the county of Tyrone. He was zealous and indefatigable in the defence of liberty and religion; he raiſed a regiment, and commanded it. Nor was he ſatisfied with diſcharging this ſervice, but flew from poſt to poſt, conferred with the leaders, and animated the people to a vigorous reſiſtance againſt the partizans of James.—Walker haſtened to Derry, and informed Lundy of the approach of James, entreating him to give the enemy battle, before their whole ſtrength was collected. Lundy in the mean time affected zeal and vigour.

The enemy having croſſed the river Bann, it became expedient to ſtop their progreſs over the Finn-water; Lundy therefore ſtationed his forces for this purpoſe, but in the hour of danger, he ſhamefully abandoned his poſt, and hid himſelf within the walls of Derry, ſhutting

ſhutting the gates againſt many of thoſe who ſought the ſame refuge.

During this operation two Engliſh Regiments arrived in Lough Foyle, the colonels of which had orders to put themſelves under the command of Lundy. They notified their arrival to him, and he in conſequence, directed them by letter to land, but to leave their troops on board and to come themſelves with ſome of their officers, to conſult on the meaſures neceſſary to be adopted in the preſent exigency; when there were ſcarcely proviſions in the city for ten days. Eleven officers from the ſhips, and five of the town formed a council of war; and in purſuance of Lundy's repreſentations, it was agreed on, that the place was not tenable; and that the principal officers ſhould privately withdraw from the city, and leave the citizens to make the beſt poſſible terms with the enemy. Theſe reſolutions being communicated to the town council, it was there alſo reſolved to offer terms of capitulation to James who now ſlowly advanced towards the city.—Theſe proceedings were no ſooner known to the people than they exclaimed againſt the governor, the council

council, and every ſuſpected officer, and cried aloud for vengeance againſt their betrayers. In the violence of reſentment, they ſlew one officer as he was haſtening to make his eſcape from the city, and they wounded another. During this ſtate of confuſion Murray, a brave and popular captain, arrived at the head of a reinforcement; and although, Lundy commanded him to retire, he inſiſted on entering the city and was received with acclamations.

Murray inveighed againſt the baſe purpoſe of ſurrendering to a perfidious enemy; the inhabitants liſtened to him with rapture; and while he expoſtulated with Lundy, they ruſhed to the walls, pointed the cannon, and fired on James and his advanced party, who approached to take poſſeſſion of the city. The more cautious and timid ſent a deputation to James to apologize for this violence; but the body of the citizens unanimouſly declared for reſiſtance. The authority of the governor, council and magiſtrates was no longer acknowledged or regarded. Lundy having reſigned, the people choſe for themſelves two new governors, a Major Baker, and Walker, the valiant eccleſiaſtic; with this view, that,

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if one ſhould fall, the garriſon ſhould not be without a commander. By theſe officers, they were formed into eight regiments, amounting to ſeven thouſand and twenty men, excluſive of their commanders.

In a ſhort time the reſolutions of the citizens becoming more calm and deliberate, they ſuffered the timid to depart without moleſtation; and Lundy, by connivance of the new governors, eſcaped in diſguiſe to the ſhips. All matters were conducted within the city with the greateſt regularity and compoſure; each regiment,—each company, had its particular ſtation. Eighteen clergymen of the eſtabliſhed church and ſeven diſſenting miniſters, cheerfully ſhared the labours and dangers of the ſiege; and alternately every day aſſembled the people in the cathedral church, where by the fervor of their devotions, and their animated exortations, they inſpired their hearers with the moſt enthuſiaſtic reſolutions.

The brave Murray flew from man to man, exciting ardour in their boſoms as occaſion might require. He told them, that it was not a few military evolutions, nor the movement

movement of arms by rule, the mere parade and foppery of war, that made ſoldiers; but ſtrong bodies, ſtronger minds, the contempt of danger and of death. Or that if, in regular fields of battle, diſciplined troops had the advantage, yet that advantage was uſeleſs here, where the defenders fought behind walls, a ſituation by which thoſe who could bear moſt fatigue and ſtood longeſt at their poſts, muſt ultimately conquer. That the enthuſiaſm of religion might be added to that of courage, Walker aſſured the ſoldiers who were deſtined to fall in this cauſe of a ſure reception in Heaven, pointing firſt to the churches, then to the ſky; theſe were the holy places from which their enemies were to drive them, if they ſurvived with diſgrace.—That was the aſſylum prepared for them by their God, if they died with glory while fighting under his banners. It is no wonder that men whoſe paſſions were ſo wrought upon ſhould make an obſtinate defence; but it ſeems ſurprizing that the catholics, who appeared to have as powerful motives of religion, and ſtill more powerful ſupport, and who neither waited for officers nor prieſts to encourage and exhort them, ſhould not have reduced theſe irregu-

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lar forces. The catholics, however were not ſo much diſtreſſed nor ſo firmly united; neither did the ſame neceſſity exiſt amongſt them to uſe ſuch extraordinary exertions for ſucceſs, that the others did for their ſafety. James continued his aſſaults for eleven days with unremitting but hopeleſs efforts; until at length impatient of diſappointment, he at laſt left the camp and returned to Dublin, without atchieving any thing worthy of notice.

WHILST theſe things were paſſing, Admiral Herbert attacked the French fleet near Bantry Bay, but was defeated and the enemy having effected the diſembarkation they had in charge, returned victorious to their own country. When James was told the Engliſh were thus defeated by the French; he exclaimed, "it is the firſt time!" this is one of thoſe ſpeeches for which ſome may admire his generoſity; but conſidering the French troops he had with him, and the hopes he reſted upon that nation, every man of reflection muſt condemn him for his folly. The Engliſh on this occaſion did not deſpair. No nation can vye with them in the happy facility of turning a defeat into a triumph.

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In this caſe the Prince of Orange knowing their diſpoſition, and believing they had not behaved ill, went to viſit the fleet, when it arrived at Portſmouth, dined with the Admiral on board his ſhip, and knighted him for his ſervices. In effect he praiſed thoſe whom he knew it was in vain to cenſure; he perſuaded them that they defeated the enemy, and they readily believed him: After the departure of James, the garriſon of Derry continued to defeat all the attempts of the beſiegers and to harraſs them by ſucceſsful ſallies. In all theſe expeditions the command was offered to any officer who would undertake it, a mode, which, though it may be diſapproved of by thoſe attached to the ſtrict rules of war, yet was very well adapted to theſe undiſciplined forces, whoſe ſucceſs depended more on their ardour than their knowledge in military manuvres. This method might perhaps be often practiſed even by regulars with ſucceſs, as ſorties moſtly depend on the vivacity with which they are conducted, and are generally deſigned to ſurpriſe an unguarded rather than to attack a provided enemy.

As

As the defence of Londonderry was much talked of in England, General Kirk was ſent out to aſſiſt the beſieged; and at a moment when the citizens of Derry were threatened with both diſeaſe and famine, they diſcovered thirty ſhips in Lough Foyle. On ſight of this fleet, the beſieged gave the uſual ſalutation of joy; but General Kirk poſſeſſed too little humanity to make any hazardous attempt for the relief of the garriſon. To the ſignals of the beſieged, Kirk returned no anſwer that evinced any alacrity, the enemy, while encouraged by his apparent irreſolution prepared to oppoſe his paſſage.

On each ſide of the Lough, where it grew narrow towards the city, they erected batteries, and arranged their forces on two oppoſite forts, while they extended acroſs the water, a boom, formed of ſtrong timber, joined with iron chains, and ſtrengthened with ſtrong cables. Kirk and his fleet ſoon after diſappeared, and from the Iſland of Inch, he ſent the beſieged the afflicting intelligence, that as he found it impoſſible to force a paſſage by the river for his ſtores and proviſions, he had retired to

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Inch, in order to make ſome diverſion to the enemy and to ſend proviſions to the proteſtant forces collected at Enniſkillen, with a coolneſs which rather inſulted than alleviated their diſtreſs, he aſſured them in terms of languid affection, that affairs in Scotland England and Ireland, were favourable to the new government and that great ſuccours would ſhortly be ſent them: yet he concluded with charging them to huſband well their proviſions; a caution more alarming than all the menaces of the enemy. Although famine and diſeaſe made daily ravages among them, yet when numbers of them were ſcarcely able to ſupport their arms, they menaced thoſe with inſtant death, who ſhould propoſe a ſurrender.

THE women attended every ſervice, animating them by their cries, and often aſſiſting them with their hands. All the ſpare time of the garriſon was ſpent in private prayer or public devotion. Yet amidſt the union occaſioned by common danger, it was ſtrange, to ſee religious diviſions break forth.

THE proteſtants and diſſenters inſiſted each to have poſſeſſion of the cathedral church, nor could

could mutual ſlaughter have been prevented, had it not been agreed, that one claſs ſhould attend ſervice in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. About the middle of ſummer, the weather being extremely ſultry, they were ſeized with peſtilential diſorders, and died in great numbers; among others, the brave Baker their governor fell a victim to the diſeaſe. Yet even death in this form, more dreadful than that of war, diſmayed them not; for ſo great was their horror againſt the beſiegers, that it overcame the moſt powerful antipathies of nature. Their proviſions having been exhauſted, they ſuſtained life by eating the fleſh of horſes, dogs and vermin; and even made deſperate ſallies, though too much weakened by hunger to purſue their advantage. In this ſituation general Hamilton preſſed them to ſurrender on terms that were reaſonable; but they reproached him with his own treachery.

Rosen who was ſent by James to command the ſiege, having more knowledge in the art of attacking places than the Iriſh generals, changed the diſpoſitions, inveſted the place more cloſely, and made many furious but unſucceſsful

ſucceſsful aſſaults. At length provoked by the valour of the garriſon, he adopted a meaſure unparalleled in modern times. He gave orders that all the proteſtant inhabitants ten miles around Derry ſhould be driven under the walls of the city; and he proclaimed if the garriſon did not ſurrender in the ſpace of ten days, they would all be put to the ſword. Five thouſand miſerable wretches, who were collected from the country all around, were driven accordingly with drawn ſwords, under the walls of the city.

This ſcheme weakened the ſpirit of James's army by its horror, and ſtrengthened thoſe of the beſieged, by turning a ſedate into a furious valour. Many of the wretched ſufferers driven to periſh under their walls, conjured them to attend to their own intereſt not theirs. For that a ſurrender, to men void of chriſtian humanity, could not ſerve thoſe who were without, and would only involve thoſe, who were within, in one common ſlaughter.

The catholic officers executed their orders againſt their countrymen, with tears in their

their eyes; but nothing could ſoften the callous and unfeeling hearts of the French. The beſieged, on the other hand, erected a gibbet on the baſtion neareſt the enemy, and aſſured them, unleſs their friends were allowed to depart, that all the priſoners taken by the garriſon ſhould be inſtantly executed; and they wrote to the beſiegers to ſend confeſſors to prepare them for death. During two days and as many nights, the unhappy victims of Roſen's reſentment, remained under the walls, without meat, drink, fire, or ſhelter, where many hundreds of them periſhed. At the end of that time, ſuch of them as were able to depart, were permitted to do ſo. But thoſe who died, were the moſt fortunate; for the others, infected with diſeaſes, and filled with deſpair, beheld on all ſides, as they wandered homewards, their habitations reduced to aſhes; the ſmoak of ſome not yet extinguiſhed, and their cattle, furniture, and proviſions carried off. A ſilence pervaded the land; and they envied their companions who were at reſt from their miſeries. It would be an unfair and diſhonourable ſtigma on the memory of the unhappy, to aſcribe the diſgrace of this action to James; as he revoked the

order of the cruel Roſen, ſoon as he heard of it: his own misfortunes having probably ſoftened his diſpoſition, taught him to feel for the calamity of his enemies. Every miſerable reſource at laſt began to fail the intrepid garriſon of Derry, and means of ſubſiſtence could not be procured for more than two days; however the famiſhed throng, liſtened to the exhortations of Walker; and he aſſured them from the pulpit that the almighty would ſend them a ſpeedy deliverance. Kirk in the meantime, heard the cries and ſaw the fires. But though enraged, perhaps he was not diſpleaſed to ſee his own character for inhumanity exceeded by the French general; he however reſolved to make a deſperate effort to relieve the city. Two ſhips laden with proviſions, and convoyed by a frigate, advanced in view of both the garriſon and beſiegers. The enemy from their batteries and muſketry, thundered furiouſly on the ſhips, who returned their fire with equal ſpirit. The foremoſt of the victuallers ſtruck forcibly againſt the boom, and broke it, but rebounding with violence, ran a ground. The enemy exulted in loud acclamations and prepared to board her, while on the crouded walls of the garriſon

garriſon, the beſieged ſtood torpid with deſpair. In a little time however, the veſſel got off by the recoiling of her guns; and paſſing the boom, ſhe was followed by the other victuallers. The city being thus providentially relieved: on the next day the enemy raiſed the ſiege, after having continued it for near four months. The garriſon was reduced by diſeaſe, famine and the ſword, from near eight thouſand to five thouſand men. of theſe, more than one thouſand were unfit for ſervice, and the reſt ſo ſtrangely altered in their looks and geſtures, that their moſt intimate friends could ſcarcely recognize them.

WHATEVER might be the ſentiments of individuals, the body of the proteſtants rejoiced, and undoubtedly acquired ſtrength from the ſucceſs of the citizens of Derry; and in conſequence, they every where made the greateſt efforts to imitate their example, and to oppoſe the progreſs of a prince whom they never loved, and whom they now no longer regarded as their ſovereign. During the whole courſe of the ſiege, James's army had been greatly embarraſſed in their operations, by thoſe proteſtants who had aſſembled about Enniſkillen.

Lord Galway had marched to reduce them. He inveſted Crom Caſtle, their frontier garriſon, ſeated on Lough Erne; but as he found it impracticable to bring up his cannon, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. Eight horſes were employed to draw two pieces of tin, of a cylindrical form, and ſo coloured as to reſemble cannon. With theſe he threatened to batter the caſtle. The garriſon made ſignals of defiance, and being reinforced from Enniſkillen, drove the enemy from their trenches, and returned triumphant, with conſiderable booty, while the counterfeit cannon which had been drawn up with ſuch apparent difficulty, were exhibited as trophies. In the meantime the number of the northern confederates augmented, but they were neither furniſhed with arms nor ammunition until, the arrival of general Kirk, when they became ſo formidable that James determined to attack them by three different armies.—For this purpoſe Macarthy, a brave and experienced general, was ordered to encamp at Belturbet, with ſeven thouſand men, Sarsfield, another general of diſtinguiſhed abilities, led, an army from Connaught; and the Duke of Berwick prepared to attack them from the north. But

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by a ſingularity of fortune, the ignorance of their danger in all probability proved the means of their deliverance; for they knew only of the motions of the Connaught army; and they marched out with intrepidity, ſurprized the enemies camp, and routed them with conſiderable ſlaughter.

They had not a ſimilar ſucceſs againſt the Duke of Berwick; for ſome companies which had been detached to ſeize an advantageous poſt, venturing beyond the limits preſcribed, were cut to pieces by the duke on his approach to Enniſkillen, but Berwick immediately retired on the appearance of the governor of that town. Macarthy marched againſt Enniſkillen, and inveſted Crom Caſtle. An officer was detached to its relief, but the enemy advancing againſt him with a much ſuperior force, he was obliged to retreat. Macarthy purſued him, and a ſkirmiſh enſued, which was the prelude to a general action between both armies; Macarthy at the head of one, and Wolſley at that of the other. This engagement took place at Newtown-Butler.

The Northerns compenſated for their inferiority in number by their valour, and an abhorrence of the enemy, which excited their utmoſt exertion. Macarthy's army was defeated with great ſlaughter; and quarters were refuſed to all but officers. Two thouſand of the catholic troops, were ſlain in the field and and ſix hundred were forced to plunge into Lough Erne, where they periſhed. Macarthy and many others were made priſoners. The news of this victory was ſoon communicated to James's army, as they retired from Derry, and it ſerved no doubt to precipitate their flight. James had by this time returned to Dublin, where, in all the pomp and ſplendor of ſovereignty, he convened a parliament.

In the houſe of lords, a number of new catholic peerages, gave weight to that party; while the commons were almoſt entirely compoſed of Tyrconnel's creatures.

James, in a ſpeech from the throne; commended the zeal and loyalty of his Iriſh ſubjects; declared his abhorrence of violating either the rights of conſcience or thoſe of property;

perty; and that he would readily consent to any laws for the good of the nation. A bill was immediately introduced, recognizing the king's title, and expressing an abhorrence of the Prince of Orange and his usurpation. James now published a declaration, in which he expressed his determination to protect the properties, privileges and religion of his protestant subjects; but whatever might be his inclinations, he was at present totally enslaved by different factions. The French Ambassador, affected to take the lead in his councils, and James was servilely attentive not to furnish him with any pretence for complaint. All military promotions were conferred on Frenchmen, to the great dissatisfaction and discontent of his Irish adherents. In parliament, however, the latter seized on an opportunity of providing for their own interests, without any attention whatsoever to the embarrassed situation of the unfortunate James. They passed a bill for the repeal of the Act of Settlement a measure which still rendered James more obnoxious to the people of England; although there is every reason to believe he disapproved of the bill, and that necessity alone compelled

compelled him to ratify it. Unfortunately for James, the bill was not only a favourite object of the catholics, but it was warmly recommended by the French miniſter; and their united influence was too powerful to be oppoſed.

The purchaſers under the Act of Settlement preſented an addreſs againſt the bill, but James coldly replied, that he could not do evil, that good might reſult from it: And when ſome peers determined to enter their proteſt, he obſerved, that proteſts were uſual only in times of rebellion.

Thus paſſed the bill for the repeal of the Act of Settlement, with a preamble exculpating the Iriſh catholics from rebelling in the year 1641; and a clauſe by which the eſtates of thoſe, who reſided in any of the three kingdoms, and who had either aided or correſponded with the Prince of Orange from the firſt of Auguſt, 1688, were forfeited and veſted in the king.

In conſequence of this act, almoſt every proteſtant in the kingdom was deprived of his eſtate

eſtate. An act was alſo paſſed, by which a number of perſons in the ſervice of the Prince of Orange, and thoſe who had retired from the kingdom and did not return in obedience to James's proclamation, were all attainted of high treaſon, and adjudged to ſuffer the pains of death and forfeiture, unleſs within a limited time they would ſurrender.

Two thouſand four hundred and ſixty one perſons, of all orders and conditions were included in this arbitrary ſentence; which was likewiſe ſo framed, as to preclude the king from the power of pardoning, after the firſt of November, 1689.

In a few inſtances, James had the reſolution to adhere to ſuch meaſures, as he was convinced would be agreeable to the people of England. He oppoſed and defeated a bill for the repeal of Poyning's law; nor would he conſent to the eſtabliſhment of inn's of court in Ireland for the education of young lawyers; a point ſo long and ſo ardently purſued by the Iriſh catholics.

Of

Of the other acts paſſed in this parliament, the more remarkable were a ſupplement to the bill of attainder, by which the perſonal eſtates of abſentees were veſted in the king; one declaring that the parliament of England could not bind Ireland; and one againſt writs of error and appeals to England; one for liberty of conſcience; another for aboliſhing the proviſions formerly made for miniſters in corporate towns; and one for entitling the Romiſh clergy to all tithes and eccleſiaſtical emoluments payable by thoſe of their own communion.—James had a monthly ſubſidy granted him by the parliament, of twelve thouſand pounds, which was levied from lands; but this tax however grievous was inadequate to his purpoſe; and being unable to procure money from France, he, during the ſitting of parliament, by virtue of his prerogative, iſſued a proclamation, impoſing a tax to the like amount on all chattels.

Some of his council ventured to remonſtrate againſt this arbitrary meaſure, but without effect, "if I cannot do this," ſaid he, "I can do nothing."

James

JAMES in his preſent exigence had recourſe to an expedient which greatly irritated his Iriſh ſubjects. He ſeized the implements and engines of one Moore who enjoyed the right of a copper coinage in Ireland, by virtue of a patent of the late king, and he eſtabliſhed a mint in Dublin and Limerick. To theſe places were carried braſs and copper of the baſeſt quality, and from every pound weight of theſe materials, valued at four-pence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value.

BY the firſt proclamation, they were made current in all payments, between James and his ſubjects, except in the duties on the exportation of foreign goods, money left in truſt, or due by mortgages, bills, or bonds; and James promiſed when this money ſhould be decried, he would receive it in all payments, or make full compenſation in gold and ſilver. His ſoldiers were now paid in this coin. The nominal value was raiſed by ſubſequent proclamations, and this baſe money was ordered to be received in all kinds

kinds of payments. As brass and copper became scarce, the coin was made of tin and pewter.

It was obtruded on his subjects with circumstances of the most flagrant injustice. Old debts of one thousand pounds, were discharged by pieces of base metal, of the intrinsic value of not more than thirty shillings. And James by proclamation not only set a value on the staple commodities of the kingdom, and demanded them at his own price, but moreover, he obliged the proprietors to accept his base coin in return; and with all the meanness of a trader, he exported his purchase to France.

James was not many months in Ireland when a mandamus was sent to the university, in favour of Greene, who had been formerly disappointed of a professorship. He was now designed to fill another office, that of a senior fellow of Trinity College; and although the severest vengeance was denounced against the college in case of non-compliance, yet they boldly, refused to obey the mandamus.

They

They pleaded their own cauſe, and urged, at the ſame time, both the incapacity of Greene, and the falſe allegations of his petition. The iſſue of this unequal conteſt was ſpeedy and deciſive. In a few days, the fellows and ſcholars were forcibly ejected by James's ſoldiers; the communion plate, library, and furniture of the community were all ſeized, their chapel was converted into a magazine, and their chambers into priſons.

The members of the univerſity procured their perſonal liberty only by the interceſſion of the biſhop of Meath; and this on the expreſs condition; that on pain of death, three of them ſhould not meet together. James iſſued an order, that on more than five proteſtants ſhould meet together, even in churches, on pain of death: the apprehenſion of invaſion, was indeed pleaded for this deſpotic ſeverity, which however, was but too congenial to James's bigoted and illiberal principles. All men of ſound judgment muſt have eaſily foreſeen, that James by his imprudence and that of his council, was deſtroying his own views and deſigns; but it

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was his misfortune never to liſten to ſound advice, the common error of all weak minds.

HAD James attended to the prudent ſuggeſtions of Lord Dundee, he would in all human probability, have attained the ſummit of his wiſhes. Lord Dundee, a Scotch nobleman of conſummate prudence and valour, who united in his perſon the ſpirit of an ancient hero, with all the fine accompliſhments of the gentleman; preſſed James to embark with a conſiderable part of his army for Scotland, a country where there were ſcarcely any regular forces; and where his preſence would fix the wavering, and awe the timid; and where, as Dundee urged, hoſts of ſhepherds would ſtart up into warriors, on the firſt waving of his banners on the mountains. James was told, that it was in vain for him to conſume time in completing the conqueſt of a country, nine-tenths of which, he had already under his dominion, and which nature itſelf ſeemed to have decreed ſhould follow the fortune of England. That the advantage which would accrue from bringing the remainder of Ireland under ſubjection would be trifling; whilſt, if the attempt ſhould fail, the diſgrace in ſuch a caſe would

would render the loſs the more important. In the preſent unſettled ſtate of things, while France threatened, while England was in open diſcontent, while Scotland was ready to burſt out into a flame, while Ireland was ready to ſhed her beſt blood in his cauſe, now was the time at once to ſhake a throne uſurped and unſettled, and to overwhelm a people who always trembled at the firſt report of an invaſion, but collected ſtrength, ſpirit, and union to oppoſe it, when long delayed.

It was urged if he failed of ſucceſs, it would be more glorious for him to do ſo in one great conteſt, than to wage war like a fugitive, waſting the proviſions, and weakening the ſtrength of his country. But theſe arguments were inſufficient to engage James to truſt himſelf in Scotland. He apprehended if he went to the Highlands, his conqueſt would be barren, and that his troops would melt away, overcome by famine and fatigue, as they wandered from hill to hill, like the miſts of the country; and if on the other hand, he repaired to the Lowlands, he would have to deal with a ſet of men, whoſe anceſtors had betrayed

trayed his royal father, and who; while they were contending againſt their king, imagined they were fighting for their God. Such reaſoning, weak and inconcluſive as it was, prevailed with James. But notwithſtanding, Lord Dundee was not idle in the cauſe of his maſter in Scotland. For he was firmly reſolved to kindle ſuch a flame of war, amidſt the barren hills of the north, as might ſpread terror and deſtruction over all the country. In order to cruſh Dundee, general Mackay was diſpatched by the Prince of Orange after him with conſiderable forces; and Mackay advanced towards the paſs of Killicranky, which was a road between high mountains. Dundee reſolving to fight him, abandoned that advantageous poſt, partly to animate his Highlanders by the boldneſs of the reſolution, and partly to render the defeat of his enemies the more compleat, if it ſhould take place; he therefore permitted Mackay to paſs the ſtraight without oppoſition, and delayed giving him battle till almoſt ſun ſet, when he ruſhed down upon them with ſuch fury, that he forced them to give way, by which 2000 of them were killed and 500 wounded. The reſt diſperſed of their

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bwn accord, and general Mackay was only ſaved by taking a way through the mountains, which lay weſtward of the paſs, while the Highlanders were occupied in plundering the baggage of the Engliſh army. But on the renewal of the purſuit, the gallant Dundee was mortally wounded; he fainted and fell from his horſe; when he recovered, he aſked, how things were? Being told all was well; then ſaid he, I am well; and immediately expired.

DURING all this time, it was ſcarcely poſſible for the Prince of Orange, to act with neceſſary vigour in the ſupport of his friends in Ireland. The Engliſh forces if it might be deemed ſafe to employ them againſt James, could not be ſpared; new levies were therefore ordered and ſhortly embodied; but the arms in the Tower having been embezzled, it was neceſſary to ſend for a ſupply to Holland. In the mean time, the neglect of Ireland became a ſubject of popular complaint; and it was at length determined to ſend thither a body of troops. The levies for the ſervice of Ireland, conſiſted of eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of cavalry; but both the of-

ficers and ſoldiers were inexperienced in war. The chief command was given to the Duke of Schomberg, who, after many delays, ſet ſail on the 21ſt. of Auguſt with about ten thouſand of his forces, and part of his artillery. On the following day he landed near Bangor in in the county of Down.

The garriſons of Belfaſt and Antrim, retired at his firſt appearance, ſome to Liſburn, but moſt to Carrickfergus, as the place of greateſt ſtrength.

Schomberg immediately marched againſt Carrickfergus; and on his approach the garriſon parleyed; deſiring liberty to ſend to James for ſuccours, or for leave to ſurrender. The demand was rejected with ſcorn, and the ſiege was carried on in form, while ſix ſhips battered the town from the ſea. The garriſon required leave to march out with the honours of war; Schomberg however inſiſted on making them priſoners, but at laſt, allowed them to march out with their arms and ſome baggage, and to be conducted to the next garriſon. Schomberg's ſoldiers murmured at this indulgence, and ſuch was their antipathy to

James's

James's men, both from religious and political motives, that without regard to faith or humanity, they fell furiously upon the garrison, wrested their arms from them, and were restrained from murder, only by the timely and vigorous interposition of the general.

Schomberg's army, by this time considerably augmented from England, advanced to Lisburn, Hillsborough, Dromore, and Loughbrickland. From all these places, the catholics fled precipitately with their cattle and effects, burning all the towns behind them. Schomberg threatened by a trumpet to give them no quarter, should they continue these depredations. The catholics abandoned Dundalk without injuring the town; and here the English army advanced in consequence of it. Such was the opinion which James's officers entertained of Schomberg and his army, that they resolved to quit their station at Drogheda. Tyrconnel had the honour of diverting them from a resolution so inglorious. He repaired to the main army at Drogheda consisting of about nine thousand men, and assured them of an immediate reinforcement of twenty thousand troops.

THESE ſuccours having arrived ſoon after, it was therefore reſolved to maintain their preſent ſtation. The country through which Schomberg had already marched, was full of bogs and mountains, where the enemy's cavalry could not harraſs him. That which now lay before him was plain and open, where the ſuperior numbers of James's army could eaſily ſurround him, and cut him off from all communication with his ſhips and his northern friends. Several of Schomberg's raw troops ſunk under the joint ſeverities of fatiguing marches and a rigorous ſeaſon; and many of them lay languiſhing on the roads. In ſuch circumſtances, Schomberg thought it imprudent to advance. Mareſchal Roſen immediately drew his forces towards Dundalk, while Schomberg fortified his camp againſt any attack of the enemy. In this unwholeſome and confined ſtation with a ſcarcity of all proviſions, Schomberg's ſoldiers ſoon become very ſickly.

IN the mean time, the enemy approached. One party was detached to ſeize a paſs near Newry, ſo as to fall on the rear of the Engliſh, but on the firſt appearance of oppoſition they ſuddenly retreated. Another party

party of Roſen's preſented itſelf before Schomberg's camp, but at the ſight of ſome cavalry, they retired to the main body. Then the whole army, with James at its head, was drawn out and diſplayed the royal ſtandard.

THOUGH they advanced towards Schomberg, yet he continued to conceive that James had no intention of coming to an engagement. At laſt James ſeemed determined to ſtorm his camp. Schomberg now diſpatched orders to his cavalry to return from a foraging excurſion; and the Engliſh infantry were commanded to ſtand to their arms. Schomberg's orders were received with ſuch joy and alacrity, that even the ſick and languid ſeized their arms, in confidence of victory and were only ſolicitous to be relieved from their preſent diſtreſs.

BUT at a moment when a battle ſeemed inevitable, James withdrew his forces to Ardee. James's army affected great vexation at this retreat, and as if the ſtorming of Schomberg's camp were an enterprize of no danger, they imputed James's irreſolution, to a miſtaken lenity and tenderneſs for his

Engliſh ſubjects. The Engliſh on the other hand, with more reality, ſuſpected that James's motions were deſigned only to coutenance a conſpiracy, formed by ſome diſaffected individuals, to betray the camp.

The deſign was diſcovered on the enſuing day; the principal accomplices were executed, and a number of French ſoldiers were diſarmed by Schomberg, and tranſported to Holland. Sickneſs in the meantime made great havock in Schomberg's camp; while the enemy, who lay on more elevated ground, inſulted their calamities. But James's army were ſoon affected with ſimilar diſaſters, and their numbers were equally diminiſhed.

While Schomberg was preparing to retire into winter quarters, he was reinforced by ſome regiments from England and Scotland. Schomberg in order to preſerve theſe troops from the infection, reſolved to abandon this fatal ſtation, and for the preſent pitched a new camp beyond Dundalk. He ordered the ſick on board the ſhips; but theſe proving inſufficient for the purpoſe, he provided waggons to convey the reſt to Belfaſt. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt care and

and aſſiduity of Schomberg and his officers, numbers died, and the roads were ſtrewed with their carcaſes.

This ſcene of the ſick, the melancholy, the deſpairing and dying, was truly ſhocking to humanity; for it was ſuch a one as exhibited a lively picture of the dreadful calamities attendant on war; and while the braveſt acknowledged they felt for others, what they would ſcarcely own they felt for themſelves, it was a ſcene that produced ſuch a complication of horrors, as made even heroes tremble. As the army marched, the ſoldiers obſerved companies that had not twelve men left. In ſhort, out of 15,000 perſons who at various periods entered the Engliſh camp, above 8,000 died in camp, or afterwards expired of the diſeaſes they had contracted there

In England, the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs were entertained from the military reputation of Schomberg. So much were his diſtreſſes concealed from them, that they had been aſſured his camp was in a flouriſhing condition; but when inſtead of reducing Ireland, the Engliſh learned that Schomberg was entrenching himſelf

ſelf againſt an enemy whom they long had been taught to deſpiſe; their pride was exaſperated; and all the factious part of the nation exclaimed in the ſevereſt terms againſt the prince's miniſters. About the ſame time the Prince of Orange forming a vain ſcheme to unite the Diſſenters with the eſtabliſhed church, diſobliged many thereby, and encreaſed the popular ferments. Old grievances were now inquired into, new meaſures inveſtigated, and the court found itſelf not a little embarraſſed between the oppoſite factions of Whig and Tory, who, though perfectly different in moſt of their political principles, yet both alike concurred in their endeavours to mortify the adminiſtration.

In the midſt of theſe ferments, Walker arrived in London, with an addreſs to the prince from the inhabitants of Derry. He was received with every mark of cordiality, and preſented with a gift of five thouſand pounds, for his intrepid conduct during the ſiege of Derry. Walker was conſulted on the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, and the Engliſh being greatly exaſperated by the unſucceſsful event of Schomberg's expedition, greedily liſtened to

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the information that Schomberg's misfortunes originated entirely in the neglect of one Shales, a purveyor to the army, by whose misconduct it was alledged Schomberg had been left in want of artillery horses, carriages, bread, forrage and medicines. In order to allay the indignation of the people, the prince proposed, that the commons should nominate commissioners to superintend all preparations necessary for the defence of Ireland. Thus the public animosity received a temporary abatement by this prudent management of the prince.

Before we advance farther in the progress of Irish affairs, it becomes expedient to recur to the proceedings of the English convention which assembled on the 22d. of January, 1689.

The commons, from the influence of present authority, as well as from the prevailing humour of the nation, were mostly chosen from the Whig party. After thanks were unanimously given by both houses to the Prince of Orange, for the deliverance which he had brought them; a memorable vote was in a few

few days paſſed by a great majority of the commons, and ſent up to the houſe of peers for their concurrence. It was contained in theſe words, "that king James the Second, having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract betwixt king and people, and having, by the advice of Jeſuits and other wicked perſons violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government,—and the throne is thereby vacant."

THIS vote, when carried to the upper houſe, met with great oppoſition, occaſioned by the factions of Whig and Tory in that houſe. The Tories though generally determined to oppoſe James's return, yet reſolved not to conſent to the dethroning him, or altering the line of ſucceſſion. A regent, with kingly power, was the expedient, which they propoſed; and a late inſtance in Portugal, ſeemed to give ſome authority and precedent to that plan of government. The leaders of the Whig party aſſerted, that a regent was unknown to the conſtitution,

ſtitution, except where the prince, by reaſon of his tender age, or infirmities, was incapable of a will; and in that caſe his will was ſuppoſed to be involved in that of the regent, and that a nation governed by regents or protectors would in proceſs of time tend more to a republic, than to a monarchy, whoſe hereditary regular ſucceſſion, as well as preſent authority, was fixed and appointed by the people.

They further aſſerted, that if there was any ill in the precedent of dethroning one king and appointing another, a ſimilar evil would reſult from eſtabliſhing of a regent. And moreover; allowing the young prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad, where he would be educated in principles ſubverſive of the conſtitution and eſtabliſhed religion; and probably he would leave a ſon, liable to the ſame inſuperable objection. But if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time forget, or totally neglect their claim; an advantage which could not be hoped for, while the adminiſtration was conducted in their name, and while they were ſtill acknowledged to poſſeſs the legal title.

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This queſtion was agitated with great zeal by the oppoſite parties in the houſe of peers. The queſtion for a king was at length carried by two voices *only*, fifty-one, againſt forty-nine. All the prelates except two, the biſhops of London and Briſtol, voted for a regent.

The houſe of peers next examined by piecemeal the vote, ſent up to them by the commons. They firſt debated, "Whether there was an original contract between the king and the people," and the affirmation was carried by 53 voices, againſt 46. The next queſtion was. "Whether king James had broke that original contract?" and after ſome trifling oppoſition the affirmative prevailed. The houſe next proceeded to take into conſideration the word *abdicated*; and it was carried that *deſerted* was better. The concluding queſtion. "Whether King James having broke the original contract, and *deſerted* the government, the throne was thereby vacant?"

This queſtion cauſed in the diſcuſſion of it much more heat and contention than any of the former; but upon a diviſion, the Tories ſucceeded by a majority of eleven voices whereby the laſt article with reſpect to the vacancy

vacancy of the throne was rejected. The vote was then returned to the commons with theſe amendments.

THE commons inſiſted on their vote, and aſſigned reaſons why the lord's ſhould retract their amendments. The lords were not convinced, and in order to ſettle this important queſtion, it was deemed neceſſary that a free conference between the houſes ſhould take place.

NEVER was a national debate ſurely of greater moment, or conducted by more able ſenators, yet their debates were ſo extremely frivolous that they more reſembled the verbal diſputations of the ſchools, than the ſolid reaſonings of legiſlators and ſtateſmen. However, in public tranſactions of ſuch importance, the real motives of any meaſure, are rarely avowed.

THE Whigs, now the reigning party, united with the Tories, in order to accompliſh the revolution, therefore the Whigs did not inſiſt that the crown ſhould be declared *forfeited*, leſt

leſt that term might offend their new allies the Tories. Wherefore they artfully confounded together the king's abuſe of power and his deſertion of the kingdom, and they denominated the whole an *abdication*; as if James had given a virtual, though not a verbal conſent to his dethronement. The Tories obſerving this obvious impropriety, the effect of the prudent compaiſance of the Whigs, inſiſted on the word *deſertion*, as much more applicable and ſignificant. The Whigs retorted on them, that notwithſtanding that expreſſion might with more juſtice be applied to James's withdrawing himſelf from the kingdom, yet it could not with any propriety be applied to his violation of the fundamental laws. And thus both parties, whilſt they from prudential or political conſiderations warped their principles, thus loſt the praiſe and merit of conſiſtency and uniformity; the managers for the lords next maintained, that admitting the king's abuſe of power to be tantamount to an abdication, it could operate no otherwiſe than his voluntary reſignation or natural death, could do.

THEY inſiſted that it was a maxim in the Engliſh law, *that the throne was never vacant*, but on the deceaſe of one king was inſtantly filled by his immediate heir, who was entitled to all the authority of his predeceſſor. And that however young the ſucceſſor, or unfit to rule, however unfortunate in ſituation, though he were even a captive in the hands of his enemies; yet no juſt reaſon could be aſſigned, why, without any fault of his own, he ſhould be deprived of a throne, to which, by birth, he was ſo fully entitled.

THE managers of the commons might have oppoſed theſe arguments by many ſpecious and ſolid reaſonings; they might have ſaid, that though on the natural death of one king, whoſe government had been agreeable to the laws, many inconveniencies would be endured rather than exclude his lineal heir; yet the caſe was different, when the people had been obliged to revolt, and dethrone a king whoſe illegal and arbitrary conduct, in every inſtance violated the conſtitution. That in ſuch revolutions, the government reverted to its firſt principles, and the people of courſe were conſtrained

conſtrained to reſort to their original right, &c. of providing for the public weal; though by means, which, on other occaſions might be conſidered irregular and violent. That the great ſecurity for allegiance was merely opinion, and that a ſyſtem of ſettlement ſhould be preferred to which it was moſt likely the nation would acquieſce and perſevere in. That James had withdrawn from the kingdom and conveyed his ſon abroad, and by ſuch conduct had involved his ſubjects in ſuch confuſion, anddifficulties that the intereſts of his family ought to be ſacrificed to the public ſettlement and tranquillity.

However reaſonable and plauſible theſe arguments appear, yet Hume ſays they were not advanced by the managers of the Whig-party, both becauſe they might imply an acknowledgment of the infant prince's legitimacy, which it was reſolved to keep in doubt and obſcurity, and alſo to direct a condemnation of Tory principles. The Whig managers were contented to ſupport the vote of the commons by artful evaſions, and both parties at laſt parted without coming to any kind of compromiſe. But

at length the perſeverance of the commons conſtrained the lords to comply; and thus the vote of the commons without any alteration, paſſed the houſe of peers by a ſmall majority, and received the ſanction of every branch of the legiſlature which then ſubſiſted. During all theſe tranſactions, the Prince of Orange preſerved a total ſilence, as if he had been in no way concerned in them.

THIS conduct might be deemed laudable and highly meritorious, but it was the Prince's misfortune, through the whole courſe of his life, and on every occaſion, to be remarkable for a cold, dry, and diſtant addreſs, which he could ſcarcely diveſt himſelf of, or in any degree ſoften or familiarize, even where his own immediate intereſt was at ſtake. At length the prince condeſcended to expreſs his ſentiments, though in a private manner, on the preſent ſituation of affairs.

HAVING called together a few of his friends, he told them he heard ſeveral ſchemes propoſed for ſettling the government; that ſome

inſiſted on a regent, and that others wiſhed to confer the crown on the Princeſs Mary alone, wherefore, if they choſe either of theſe plans of ſettlement, he declared, it would be entirely out of his power to aſſiſt them in carrying it into effect; he ſtated that his concerns abroad were of too much moment to be relinquiſhed for ſo precarious a dignity; and that at preſent he had not as much leiſure as would be neceſſary to arange their disjointed government. He informed them, that having fully accompliſhed the end of his coming amongſt them, by reſtoring their liberty, it now belonged to the parliament to concert ſuch meaſures as they would deem moſt requiſite for the public ſettlement; for his part he would by no means interpoſe in their determinations.

It being now evident that nothing leſs than the crown would ſatisfy the Prince of Orange, the Princeſs Mary herſelf ſeconded his views, and ſacrificed every conſideration to conjugal fidelity and attachment, though it muſt be admitted ſhe was more obſequious on this occaſion, than the generality of her ſex would have been, conſidering her huſband was a man

man of ſo unſocial and unamiable a diſpoſition. The Princeſs Anne alſo concurred in the plan, and on the promiſe of an ample revenue, was ſatisfied to be poſtponed in the ſucceſſion of the throne.

All parties being now agreed, the convention paſſed a bill, whereby they ſettled the crown on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; the ſole adminiſtration to remain in the prince; the Princeſs Anne to ſucceed next, after the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; Anne's poſterity after thoſe of the Princeſs of Orange, but before thoſe of the prince by any other wife. To this bill the convention annexed a declaration of rights, where all points which of late had been diſputed between king and people were finally determined; and the royal prerogative more limited and more accurately defined than in any former period of the Engliſh monarchy. We have already ſtated, that the popular ferments in England, on account of Schomberg's ill ſucceſs in Ireland had been ſomewhat abated by the prudence of committing the care of Ireland to the parliament. Notwithſtanding the

people ſoon remonſtrated with double violence againſt the miſcarriages in Ireland; and reſolved that King William ſhould be addreſſed to take theſe into his conſideration, and to find out the authors of them. At this time William was conſideraby thwarted in money matters by the parliament, and he was even mortfied, ſo far as to have a committee appointed, to examine into the management of his private finances.

William had alſo his troubles on the Princeſs Anne's account. As ſhe had poſtponed her pretenſions to the crown in William's favour, ſhe conceived from ſuch a ſacrifice much was due to her; and having as yet no ſettled revenue allowed her, ſhe made frequent complaints on that head. She had a ſtrong party in the commons, who at laſt addreſſed William to ſettle 50,000l. a year upon her, out of a revenue which was hardly addequate to anſwer his own purpoſes, and which was only granted him from year to year, by the mere bounty of the people.

At length William, diſtracted between Whigs and Tories, upon ſome recent advances, reſolved to cloſe with the latter and to undertake the war of Ireland in perſon; to this reſolution he added a deſign of leaving the queen as regent, to manage parties by herſelf, in the beſt manner ſhe could. There were ſome who wiſhed to diſappoint William in his determinations, but he fruſtrated their deſigns by diſſolving the parliament, and adopting every means to conciliate the affections of his new friends the Tories; and of diſgracing the Whigs, of whom, although they had raiſed him to the throne, he now began to be beyond meaſure fearful and jealous. In the mean time, William ſent cloaths, arms and ammunition to his troops in Ireland; and 7000 well appointed auxiliaries from Denmark, landed at Belfaſt, under the command of the Duke of Wirtemberg.

A. D. 1689 Schomberg's troops having recovered ſome degree of their former vigour, were employed in furniſhing the frontier garriſons with ſtores; nor was James leſs aſſiduous in forming magazines, and preparing for the campaign. James it

was ſaid, had formerly expreſſed a reſolution of confiding to his own troops for ſucceſs, but he now accepted of five thouſand French troops, for an equal number of Iriſh tranſported to France, a meaſure however, that was not attended with the advantage that had been expected; for James's new auxiliaries were not only extremely refractory, but would not acknowledge any other ſuperior than their own commander: who attending only to the the intereſt of his troops, conſidered himſelf in an enemies country, and lived at free quarters.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

James's diſappointment by the loſs of his laſt Frigate and the Fort of Charlemont;—William prepares for his Expedition to Ireland—a Conſpiracy againſt him defeated—Arrives in Ireland.—Battle of the Boyne.—Duke Schomberg killed.—James's arrival at Dublin.—He embarks for France,—ſeveral Forts ſurrender to William.—Siege of Limerick.—William embarks for England.—Earl of Marlborough arrives in Ireland.—Cork ſurrenders.—Kinſale reduced—great Diſorders in Ireland Reduction of Athlone.—Battle of Aughrim,—Siege of Limerick.—Capitulation of Limerick.

A. D. 1690. A TRIVIAL incident ſerved to increaſe the mortification of James. The only frigate he now retained of the royal fleet, lay in the bay of Dublin ready to convey to France ſome ſmall veſſels laden with various goods, for which he had obtruded his baſe coin on the proprietors. But Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who ſailed from Belfaſt with a few ſhips, after ſome reſiſtance took the frigate, with the whole convoy. But James

James, however mortified by this incident, was ſtill more ſenſibly affected by the loſs of Charlemont. This fort was conſidered ſo ſtrong, and ſo well provided, that Schomberg, in his progreſs had not ventured to attack it. To harraſs and diſtreſs the garriſon, Caillemote, a brave French officer in William's ſervice, had been poſted on the banks of the Black-water with a conſiderable force, in the ſpring.

As the ſeaſon advanced, Charlemont was more cloſely inveſted, and the governor ſummoned to ſurrender; which O'Regan, its governor, refuſed to comply with; but the garriſon having ſuffered intolerable diſtreſs, he at laſt propoſed terms of capitulation, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. During theſe tranſactions ſeveral new regiments of Engliſh and Dutch arrived in Ulſter; and the army was every day encouraged with aſſurances, that William would ſoon join them. As ſoon as William made his reſolution of viſiting Ireland known, a dangerous conſpiracy was formed in England by certain diſcontented perſons,

perſons, which was to be put in execution during William's abſence in Ireland, in order to bring England once more under the dominion of James. But luckily the plot was diſcovered and completely fruſtrated.

A. D. 1690. At length on the 14th of June in the year 1690, William landed at Carrickfergus amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. William, determined on a vigorous proſecution of the war, advanced to Liſburn, and Hilliſborough, where he commenced the firſt exerciſe of his civil authority, by an act highly acceptable to the Diſſenters of Ulſter. William iſſued a warrant, granting the diſſenting clergymen of the North, who had acted with ſo much zeal in his cauſe, an annual penſion of twelve hundred pounds.

William's whole force aſſembled at Loughbrickland, from their different quarters, where they were joined by him and his ſuite. His army conſiſting of thirty ſix thouſand men, well appointed, now advanced ſouthward, to decide

decide the fate of Ireland, while the fleet coaſted ſlowly in view, to provide them with neceſſaries.

In the mean time, ſeventy-eight French ſhips, in conſequence of an agreement with the Engliſh malecontents before-mentioned, appeared off the Engliſh coaſt, and although the plot had been already diſcovered, yet theſe ſhips created ſuch an alarm, that the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, ventured to meet them and give them battle.

The fleet met, and a great and formidable engagement took place, off Beachy-head, in which a great number of Dutch ſhips were burned, ſhattered and deſtroyed; and the Engliſh fleet was defeated, and purſued by the French, as far as Rye Bay, where they ſtopped to try what effect the victory would have on James's friends in England.

William not hearing of this defeat, however well informed he was that the French had a naval power hovering on the Engliſh coaſts, kept all his troops in a body, and marched on through the courſe which Schomberg

berg had purſued before him, fully reſolved, while things were at ſuch a criſis both by ſea and land to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow.

When James received the news of William's arrival he committed the guard of Dublin to a militia under the command of Luttrel the governor, and marched with ſix thouſand French infantry to join the main body of his army, which now were ſtationed near Drogheda on the bank of the river Boyne. James's army conſiſted of about thirty three thouſand men. His council of officers adviſed him not to riſk an action againſt ſuperior forces, but to maintain a defenſive war, until, among other reaſons offered, the diſcontents in England ſhould begin to operate more effectually in his favour. However James actuated by his uſual infatuation contended for vigorous meaſures, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction that he had at laſt an opportunity of one fair battle for the crown. Yet with an ominous precaution, he diſpatched Sir Patrick Trant one of his commiſſioners of revenue to Waterford, to prepare a ſhip to convey him to France in caſe of any diſaſter.

On

On the laſt of June, at the firſt dawn of Day, William's army advanced towards the Boyne in three columns, he himſelf marching at the head of his advanced guard, which ſoon appeared within a few miles of Drogheda. Here William from the ſummit of an hill took a view of the enemy. James's forces had Drogheda on their right, a moraſs difficult to be paſſed on the left; in their front the fords of the Boyne, deep and dangerous, with rugged banks, defended by ſome breaſt works, behind which lay rows of hedges, and above them ſeveral ſmall hills. On their rear at ſome diſtance lay the village of Dunmore; three miles farther was the village and paſs of Duleek, which in caſe of a defeat would conſiderably favour James's army.

Here James called a council of war to determine on the ſum of things, ſome of the more cautious of his Iriſh officers adviſed James to let his army fall back and retire behind the Shannon; they urged that to retire was no diſgrace, when the retreat would eventually lead to victory. And as the chances of war were ſcarcely ever ſo equal as to

to render it alike advantageous for two oppoſing generals to engage at one time, wherefore the ſame motives which impelled William to ſeek an engagement, ſhould for the ſame reaſon point out to James that he ought as much as poſſible avoid coming to one. They obſerved alſo, that at preſent William's army was ſtrong in numbers and his own weak, whereas, if James had patience, the contrary would preſently become the caſe; for William's ſtrength would ſoon moulder away, as Schomberg's army had done, while his own forces being uſed to the air and climate, would not be expoſed to ſuch diminution from diſeaſes.

It was by this time known, that James's allies the French, were maſters of the ſea, and that more forces were on their way to join him from abroad, and more might alſo be raiſed at home if he pleaſed; while his enemies could not poſſibly get an encreaſe from either. That in retreating to the interior parts of the kingdom, he could draw proviſions wherever he went, from the garriſons around and behind. But by advancing into thoſe parts, William would loſe the ſupplies from his

his fleet, and would not eaſily procure any other in an hoſtile land. Even without hazarding a battle at all, the war might be terminated, for if the French fleet ſhould deſtroy the ſhips which attended William, and block up the channel between England and Ireland his army would fall, and fall almoſt without a blow. On the other hand the impatient ſpirits in James's army urged, that to fly was to be conquered in effect. That to abandon his capital was to give up the kingdom, that his ſubjects would be animated when they beheld their ſovereign in arms diſputing the field, but would follow him with ſcorn if he fled; and finally, that it became his name and reputation in arms to ſet all upon the firſt great caſt, which offered itſelf, and which would moſt likely turn up in his favour, ſince the conſcience of the uſurper, together with the fears and compunction which James's preſence would naturally excite, would operate in his favour, and effectually contribute to William's defeat.

NOTHING could be more abſurd than the whole mode of reaſoning adopted by thoſe who

who were anxious for the battle; but as thoſe arguments are commonly moſt adapted to perſuade, which are addreſſed to the paſſions, and vanities of men, ſo theſe prevailed with James, who entertained an high notion of the ſacred majeſty of hereditary monarchs; and he doubted not but his preſence would awe his Engliſh ſubjects in this country, totally forgetting with what mortifying contempt ſome of theſe very ſubjects had treated him, when in England.

In the mean while, an event took place, which had nearly obtained a bloodleſs victory for James. When William's army had encamped on the oppoſite ſide of the Boyne, he, being anxious to inform himſelf fully of the enemies ſituation, advanced with ſome officers, within muſket ſhot of a ford oppoſite the village of old-bridge: here, having reconnoitered the enemy, he ſat down on the ground, to take notes of what he had obſerved.

Neither the motions of William nor of his army were unobſerved by James's troops. Berwick,

Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield, and ſome others, rode ſlowly along the oppoſite banks, and diſcovered William's preſent ſituation. A party of about forty horſe were immediately ſent by them into a plowed field, oppoſite where William ſat. In their centre they concealed two field pieces, which they planted, unnoticed, under cover of a hedge and marched on. As ſoon as William mounted his horſe, the cannon, were diſcharged, by which one of his followers was killed and two horſes at a ſmall diſtance from William himſelf. Another ſhot inſtantly followed, and the ball grazed on the banks of the river, thence aroſe, and ſlanting on William's right ſhoulder, wounded him ſlightly. His attendants crowded around him in great confuſion. A ſhout of exultation rung through James's camp, that Orange was no more. The news was conveyed rapidly to Dublin and thence to Paris, where it was received by Lewis with the utmoſt tranſports of joy, as he was William's moſt inveterate enemy. But William having got the wound dreſſed, immediately mounted his horſe again. He rode through his camp to ſhew himſelf, as well as to encourage and animate his ſoldiers.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM, concluding from the news he daily received, that there was an abſolute neceſſity for fighting, and James having removed ſome of his artillery, cauſed him to apprehend that a retreat was meditated by the enemy; wherefore, William, in an aſſembly of his officers, declared his determination to paſs the Boyne next morning in front of the enemy, an enterprize which many of his principal officers, and Schomberg in particular, attempted in vain to diſſuade him from. William on this occaſion acted with a laudable degree of propriety; for there are times, when a man's judgment, being fully convinced of the mode of action he ought to purſue, that it would be weakneſs to be diverted from it: ſuch now was William's caſe.

THUS determined, William next morning at dawn, ordered the river to be croſſed in different places; which was effected without much oppoſition. Then advancing they found the enemy drawn up in two lines. In forming William's forces, the horſe and foot were mixed, ſquadron with battalion, but on the arrival of freſh infantry, they changed their

poſition, and by drawing the horſe to the right, they conſiderably by this means out-flanked the enemy. But they were obliged to force their way through fields incloſed with deep ditches, extremely difficult to be croſſed, eſpecially by the horſe, as they were obliged, in the face of the enemy to advance in order. When William's troops had ſurmounted theſe obſtacles, beyond them lay a moraſs ſtill more embarraſſing. However, the enemy plunged in, while the horſe found a firm paſſage to the right, through which they forced their way.

The enemy, aſtoniſhed at their intrepidity, fled inſtantly towards Duleek and were purſued and conſiderably harraſſed by Count Schomberg the duke's ſon. But James's left wing being reinforced from his centre, Schomberg was preſſed hard and obliged to retreat.

In the mean time, William's main body conſiſting of the Dutch guards, ſome Engliſh battalions and ſome regiments of French Hugonots, paſſed the river, which roſe to their waiſts. Many of the battalions formed themſelves without any material oppoſition; but

but before the reſt could come up to their ſupport; general Hamilton at the head of James's horſe, charged them ſo furiouſly that they were thrown into immediate diſorder. The Dutch and French hugonots were inſtantly broken, and on the point of betaking themſelves to flight; the Daniſh troops plunged into the river, whither they were purſued by Hamilton's dragoons. Duke Schomberg who waited to ſupport his friends on any dangerous emergency, now plunged through the river and placed himſelf at the head of the hugonot forces; who at that moment, were deprived of their brave leader Caillemotte, but Hamilton's horſe on their return from the purſuit of the Danes, wounded Schomberg and took him priſoner, and were hurrying him away when he was killed by a ſhot from his own men. At the ſame time Walker, the famous defender of Derry, impelled by a paſſion for military glory, more becoming a ſoldier than an eccleſiaſtic, attended the battle of the Boyne, and received a wound of which he inſtantly expired.

When William heard of Walker's death he pertinently exclaimed, "fool, what had he to do there?" A ſhrewd remark, which expreſſed at once the penetration of William, and ſtrongly pointed out the impropriety of men's ſeeking for fame, in ſtations where it is not allotted for them.

In this quarter, all went in favour of James's troops, who were now preparing to charge William's centre, and finiſh the battle by one vigorous effort. But at this inſtant William himſelf who had paſſed the Boyne with his left wing, appeared ready to attack them in flank, which unexpected danger threw the victors into a conſternation, that ſpreading from man to man, entirely diſpirited a people too ſoon elated and as ſoon depreſſed; and occaſioned them to retire to Dunmore, where they once more made ſuch a ſtand, as baffled their purſuers, and even forced the Engliſh cavalry, with William at their head, to recoil.

The Enniſkilleners, whoſe courage was ſo much boaſted of, were forced to give way, and nothing but freſh ſuccours prevented a general

ral rout; nor had even theſe ſaved them, otherwiſe than by covering their retreat, but that the brave Hamilton again charging the enemy with too great impetuoſity, but too little caution, was wounded in the arms of victory made priſoner by the Engliſh and immediately conveyed to William. The reputation of Hamilton was ſo great that his loſs turned the fortune of the day; while James's army was routed and fled by the paſs of Duleek. James's loſs in this action is computed at fifteen hundred men and the Engliſh loſt about five hundred who fell in the field. After this defeat, James ſeemed to have loſt all ſpirit and all conduct. Though he might have found means eaſily to have repaired his loſs and ſtill kept the field in a country entirely devoted to him, yet he thought of nothing but retiring, He went firſt to Dublin, and next to Waterford and on his way, broke down all the bridges behind him, and prepared to embark for France. In his flight he received letters that rendered his deſign more plauſible, but he had formed his reſolutions before theſe diſpatches arrived. Theſe letters informed James that Lewis had obtained a ſignal victory

on the continent; and that his fleet had taken ſuch a ſtation as completely prevented his enemies from ſuccouring each other; on this account king James was requeſted to embark for France directly, that he might be landed in England with thirty thouſand men, and leave his generals to *protract* the war in Ireland; but that unfortunate prince had already precipitated it. however his ſpirits were as much elated by the news contained in theſe letters, as they had been depreſſed by his ill ſucceſs at the Boyne. James haſtened to comply with Lewis's requeſt and in his paſſage met with a fleet of frigates deſtined to burn and deſtroy William's ſhipping on the the coaſts of Ireland. But James heaping abſurdity on abſurdity, prevented the frigates from going on this ſervice; and took them along with him to France, as a protection to his perſon. When he arrived at Paris, Lewis finding that James had brought back theſe ſhips with him, and hearing of his defeat, and alſo that the conſpiracy in England had been cruſhed, Lewis, to the no ſmall diſppointment of James excuſed himſelf from fulfilling his engagement, and would not truſt him with

with either ſhipping or men. Lewis muſt have clearly ſeen the weak conduct of James, and not only that fortune had completely forſaken him at the preſent criſis, but ſeemed to mark him as a victim for her future vengeance: he conceived, poſſibly, it would therefore be fruitleſs to make any further efforts in ſo hopeleſs a cauſe.

Immediately after the battle of the Boyne, William ſummoned the garriſon of Drogheda to ſurrender, and in caſe of non-compliance, in imitation of Cromwell's barbarous policy, threatened to put them all to the ſword. William now gratified his Engliſh adherents, by iſſuing a commiſſion for ſeizing the poſſeſſions of thoſe that warred againſt him; all which were confiſcated by virtue of William's commiſſion alone, and no courts of judicature were at the time opened for proceeding regularly in the buſineſs. This meaſure ſerved only to confirm the catholics the more in their averſion to the new government; and they therefore reſolved to renew the war with the utmoſt animoſity. In eight days after the victory of the Boyne, William divided his army,

army, he himſelf marched ſouthward along the coaſt. General Douglas was diſpatched with all the cavalry to purſue James's forces and harraſs them in their retreat. Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannon Fort were taken in conſequence of theſe arrangements: Douglas proceeded in his expedition to Athlone, marched as through an enemy's country, his men plundering and murdering all before them.

By ſuch barbarities Douglas's army became abſolutely odious. When they appeared before Athlone, Douglaſs ſent a ſummons to the governor of the town whoſe name was Grace. He returned a paſſionate defiance. Grace fired a piſtol at Douglas's meſſenger, and ſaid, "*theſe are my terms.*" Douglaſs carried on the ſiege for a conſiderable time without any effect, and at length, after ſeveral diſaſters, the Engliſh were obliged to decamp at midnight, and by difficult marches joined William who with his forces were now advanced to Limerick. William having reſolved to reduce Limerick, if poſſible, this campaign; advanced towards the town on the ninth of Auguſt and ſummoned it to ſurrender. One

Boiſſeleau,

Boiſſeleau, a French man, was the governor, and the Duke of Berwick and colonel Sarſfield acted under him. To the ſummons Boiſſeleau replied that he wiſhed to gain the Prince of Orange's good opinion, and knew no method ſo likely for him to obtain it, as to defend well the poſt committed to his charge; a gallant anſwer, but leſs boiſterous than that of Colonel Grace, the Governor of Athlone. It was but three days after the ſiege of Limerick commenced, that Sarsfield, having intelligence that a convoy with artillery and other neceſſaries for the ſiege was on its way to join the Engliſh army; iſſued out of the town by a ſecret way, paſſed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the convoy, ſpiked the cannon, blew up the powder, deſtroyed all the reſt of the ammunition, and retreated in ſafety by the ſame way he came, before it was poſſible for the beſiegers to prevent him. William was reſolved to carry on the ſiege, notwithſtanding theſe unlucky auſpices, and at length a breach being made, he ordered it to be ſtormed.

THE troops accordingly advanced, carried the counterſcarp, and mounted the breach; but the garriſon, emulous to do ſomething equal to the atchievements of the proteſtants of London Derry, quickly ſhewed the beſiegers that the reduction of the town would not be ſo eaſy a taſk as they ſeemed to ſuppoſe.

THE women likewiſe joined their efforts to thoſe of the men, and notwithſtanding a violent aſſault upon the breach, the garriſon repulſed the Engliſh with great carnage, after a conteſt of three hours. Five hundred men ſlain, and one thouſand wounded made up the loſs which the Engliſh ſuſtained in this unſucceſsful attempt, that of their auxiliaries was nearly as great. After this repulſe William ordered a retreat. Thus terminated the period of William's perſonal enterprizes in Ireland.

LEAVING the command of the army to Count Solmes and general Ginkle, and having appointed Lords-juſtices, William embarked at Duncannon Fort for England. From theſe miſcarriages, as well as from other circumſtances

ces of a ſimilar nature, ſome perſons who were inimical to William, took occaſion to remark "that he never undertook a ſiege which he was not obliged to raiſe, nor ever fought a battle, where he gained a complete victory, one only excepted, and that was againſt his own ſubjects." Although the catholics had preſerved Limerick againſt the efforts of the whole Engliſh army, with William at their head; yet they loſt Cork and Kinſale to the earl (afterwards Duke) of Marlborough, who was entruſted with five thouſand Engliſh troops, and being joined by the Duke of Wirtemberg with four thouſand Danes had arrived in Ireland where, in a few months; he had made himſelf maſter of theſe important places. James now apparently deſpaired of deriving any advantage from the troubles in Ireland; he therefore ordered Tyrconnel to make the beſt terms he could for his party there, and then to withdraw himſelf from the government of that kingdom. But William, in an amneſty which he had lately iſſued, excepted from the general pardon, "the deſperate leaders of the rebellion" almoſt every perſon of any note or conſideration ſuppoſed himſelf

himſelf liable to be included in, or attacked under the above proſcription; wherefore by the manner in which theſe ſentiments operated on the minds of the principal people, William might as well have excepted the whole of James's adherents from the general pardon; although the catholics did not look on themſelves as rebels, as they were fighting the cauſe of a prince who had been ſolemnly proclaimed their king, and to whom they had ſworn allegiance. But now perceiving, that they were to be comprehended under that deſignation and viewing the whole of their ſituation and concomitant circumſtances: deſerted by James, and by Tyrconnel alſo, when he could not perſuade them to a peace with William; forſaken likewiſe by the Duke of Berwick, who remained longer among them, endeavouring to prevail on them to relinquiſh their purſuits; deſpair, and reſentment urged them to the adoption of meaſures for a vigorous defence.

THE ſituation of the catholics was at this criſis truly deplorable, they were now going to be ſacrificed by James, as before they had been

been by Charles, who cruelly abandoned them when they were reduced to diſtreſs, thereby committing them to certain deſtruction for his cauſe, when he no longer conſidered it his intereſt to ſupport them; that, attached as they were to James, it was not the firſt time they had been deſerted by a Stuart. James had upbraided them with cowardice, but although this charge could not by any of their actions be ſupported, yet they were reſolved to wipe off the imputation, by convincing him they would fight for themſelves, and notwithſtanding their low and unſupported condition, either enſure victory, procure an honourable peace, or die with arms in their hands.

It ſeemed to be the determination of all, to find their own reſources, and truſt to them alone. Upon this the Duke of Berwick finding his ſituation far from being agreeable, returned to France, leaving the command of the forces to Sarsfield. This commander had defeated William's attempts upon Limerick; the ſucceſs of which had raiſed his reputation to an high degree among his countrymen.

trymen. Sarsfield having been attainted, his revenge and his intereſt now became united to his thirſt for military glory, reſolving by every means in his power, to ſtimulate his countrymen to a vigorous reſiſtance againſt their foes, he was therefore every where active amongſt them. But whilſt both armies were well enough inclined for action, the people on both ſides ſuffered unſpeakable miſeries. The troops diſperſing into winter quarters, committed plunder and depredations in the progreſs of their march; the neglect of agriculture in moſt places, having rendered the country unable to ſupport them.

The French, on the ſide of the catholics, and the Danes and Dutch on that of the Engliſh, conſidered themſelves as in an enemy's country, and therefore made no ſcruple to ſubſiſt on rapine and devaſtation. To complete the ſcene of miſery, a banditti known by the appellation of rapparees, crowned their exceſſes by acts of the moſt wanton and capricious barbarity, while the different parties took theſe wretches into their ſervice and employed

employed them to harraſs and deſtroy each other. But the rapparees were ſeldom of any other uſe in ſuch caſes than to heighten the horrors of war by monſtrous acts of cruelty and inhumanity. They burned, pillaged, and deſtroyed whatever came in their way; mercy they neither gave nor expected, and their routs were ſcarcely otherwiſe to be traced, than by the fires they lighted up in the country, and the cries of the wretched and miſerable inhabitants.

While thing's were thus ſituated in Ireland, William, who had been terrified with a freſh plot, which narrowly eſcaped from been put into execution, gave orders to Ginkle, on whom the ſole command had devolved, to put a period to the Iriſh war at all events. James on his part had ſent back, with what money he could ſpare, Tyrconnel to command the army, but Sarsfield grew jealous on this occaſion, and as Tyrconnel had, before his departure for France, declared in favour of moderate meaſures, he was now ſuſpected of treachery, and many of the officers reviled and inſulted him, particularly as they flattered themſelves

themſelves daily with hopes of aſſiſtance from France. To favour theſe expectations, ſome French officers gradually arrived and repeated the aſſurances of ſpeedy ſuccour. At length St. Ruth a French general of powerful abilities landed at Limerick with a commiſſion of commander in chief.

A. D. 1691. SARSFIELD was juſtly incenſed, nor did the title of the Earl of Lucan, which he received from James, reconcile him to the indignity of being thus ſuperſeded. St. Ruth plainly perceiving the diſcontents of the catholics, reſolved on a defenſive war, and with the main body of his army took his ſtation behind Athlone, and ſtrongly garriſoned that part of it which lay between him and the Shannon, then called the Iriſh Town. Ginkle, being now furniſhed with reinforcements and other neceſſaries from England, determined to open the campaign by the ſiege of Athlone.

HIS firſt operation was the reduction of Fort Ballymore in Weſtmeath. This object being effected the Engliſh general advanced

ced with a party of horſe within a few miles of Athlone, where from an eminence he ſurveyed the town and the ſituation of the catholic army, which was encamped on a neck of land between two bogs, at the diſtance of two miles from the Shannon. Athlone conſiſted of two towns, ſituated on both banks of the Shannon, one called the Engliſh and the other the Iriſh Town, which were united by a ſtone bridge, and a ford a little below it; but the ford was now difficult to paſs, beſides being commanded by an adjacent caſtle. Next day Ginkle marched through lines of catholic infantry who gradually retired before him to the Engliſh diſtrict of Athlone.

The walls of Athlone had been repaired, and the catholics reſolved on a vigorous defence. But a battery of ten guns ſoon made a conſiderable breach, and orders were given for the aſſault.

The catholics defended the breach with great bravery for a length of time, but at laſt by ſuperior numbers being driven to the bridge

bridge, many of them were either cruſhed to death or drowned in the Shannon, as the bridge had been broke down by order of Saint Ruth, by that part of his troops which occupied the Iriſh Town. This he did, in order to cut off the communication between the towns, although by this mode of ſecurity he deſtroyed many of his army. However the Engliſh general found new difficulties to encounter; the arch of the bridge neareſt to the Iriſh town having been broken. Saint Ruth was ſtrongly poſted on the oppoſite ſide, who from his works fired furiouſly on the Engliſh town.

THE fordbetween the two towns was narrow and ſtrong; wherupon Ginkle entrenched himſelf in the Engliſh town, and endeavoured to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river below the ford, and to conſtruct a wooden work on the bridge, in order to throw great planks over the broken arch.

THE former attempt failed, on account of the banks not being firm; and when the latter was juſt brought to bear, a grenade thrown

thrown by the enemy ſet fire to the wood work and in a moment deſtroyed all the labours of the Engliſh. This accident cauſed great uneaſineſs in Ginkle's army, as their ſtores were much reduced, and through hurry having totally neglected to ſecure a retreat, there remained ſmall proſpect of any ſafety but in victory. Ginkle failing in his grand attempt to render the bridge paſſable, at length reſolved in a council of war to force a paſſage at the ford. The attempt was highly dangerous, as the ford was ſtrong, breaſt high, and paſſable only to twenty men in a breaſt. The deſign might really be ranked among thoſe raſh actions which ought rather to be deemed objects of aſtoniſhment than of imitation.

THAT the enemy might not be alarmed by an extraordinary commotion in the camp, Ginkle determined to make the attempt at the uſual hour of relieving the guards. Two thouſand men were appointed for this enterprize, and the ſignal given, by tolling the church-bell. Their advanced guard boldly entered the river. To favour this attempt, the Engliſh fired furiouſly upon the enemy

from their works and batteries, and they returned the diſcharge with equal violence on thoſe who were paſſing the ford.

THE detachment, however, advanced on intrepidly through fire and ſmoak, and gaining the oppoſite banks, mounted the breach that had been made next the river.

THE catholics, ſurprized and aſtoniſhed at this effort of valour, fled to their camp. On this occaſion Saint Ruth betrayed a careleſſneſs and preſumption unworthy of a general. On receiving the firſt intelligence of Ginkle's plan to paſs the ford, Saint Ruth in the confidence of ſecurity ſent three of his worſt regiments to relieve the over fatigued garriſon; and when he was told the Engliſh were actually paſſing the ford, he exclaimed that they would not preſume to attempt the town while he and his army lay ſo contiguous to it. Sarsfield replied calmly, that he knew the enterprize was not too difficult for Engliſh courage, and preſſed him to ſend an immediate reinforcement. Saint Ruth was offended: Sarsfield retorted his diſdain, when in the midſt of the diſpute, they were inform-

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ed that the enemy had got poſſeſſion of the town. Saint Ruth diſſembling his vexation proudly commanded that they ſhould be driven out again, and ſome fruitleſs efforts were made for that purpoſe; but by this time the Engliſh poſſeſſed the works oppoſite St. Ruth's camp and pointed his own cannon againſt him.

The caſtle of Athlone followed the fate of the town. The governor and five hundred men were made priſoners; and twelve hundred more were either taken or ſlain by the Engliſh during the courſe of the ſiege. Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters the ſpirit of the catholics remained hitherto invincible. Some flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſuccour from France, and were therefore implicitly obedient to St. Ruth, while thoſe who knew the power of the Engliſh government ſaw no proſpect of ſafety but in a deſperate effort of valour. There were others who had eſpouſed James's cauſe from principle, and had taken up arms in defence of their religion and for the recovery of their property; they were on theſe conſiderations eager to conti-

nue the war, as the only means that could afford a poſſibility of accompliſhing their ends.

THE entire catholic force was reſolved from various motives to bring the conteſt to a final iſſue in the field. Ginkle had received authority from William, long ſince, to publiſh a free pardon to all ſuch of the catholics as choſe to take the benefit of it, but the Dutchman had delayed the publication of it to a period rather too late. St. Ruth, apprehenſive that many of his troops would avail themſelves of Ginkle's proclamation, changed his plan of a defenſive war and reſolved to reſt the fate of Ireland upon the iſſue of a battle, while he had yet the means left him of aſſembling an army wherewith to make one general effort.

A. D. 1691 THE Engliſh general diſcovering his intention, ſtrengthened his army, by drawing in every detachment that could be ſpared from all his poſts. The fate of Ireland was now ready to be decided, and the minds of all men were agitated with the expectation of the event.

ON

A. D. 1691. On the tenth of June, Ginkle marched from Athlone, and encamped along the river Suir in the county of Roſcommon. While St. Ruth took his ſtation to much greater advantage, about three miles farther to the ſouth weſt, his camp extended in a line of two miles along the heights of Killconmeden, with a rivulet on his left, running between hills and moraſſes, and theſe again ſkirted by a large bog.

About half a mile to the front lay a wide bog, with two paſſages, one led to the right, the other to the left of St. Ruth's camp.

The paſſage on the left opened into a corn-field, in which, however only four battalions could form a front. Farther on were difficult grounds and the ruins of the caſtle of Aughrim, where cannon were placed. The paſſage to the right opened upon ground that was wider but yet afforded not room for an army.

The ſpace between theſe too paſſages was filled with hedges and ditches, communicating with each other and lined with muſketeers,

teers. On the 12th of July at noon, the Engliſh army advanced in as good order as the nature of the ground would admit; they marched in two diviſions to the right and left of the bog, with the deſign of flanking the enemy and joining on the riſing ground; the left wing of the Engliſh marched boldly againſt the enemy, who obſtinately maintained their poſts; defending their ditches until the muſkets of each ſide cloſed with the other; when, retiring by their lines of communication, they flanked their aſſailants and charged them with double fury. St. Ruth found it neceſſary to draw a conſiderable part of his cavalry from his left to ſupport his right wing. On this Mackay adviſed Ginkle, while the cavalry were in motion to gain the paſs by Aughrim caſtle, which ſtood on the ſide of the bog, accordingly ſeveral regiments in the centre were ordered to march through the bog in front, and to poſt themſelves in the corn field, until the Engliſh horſe had gained the paſs, and would wheel from the right to ſupport their charge.

THE Engliſh infantry having with great difficulty paſſed the bog, forgot the injunctions they received to remain inactive until the horſe had ſecured the paſs; and imprudently advanced to the line of hedges, from which the enemy artfully retired in order to draw the Engliſh on. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; for the Engliſh eagerly purſued, till by means of the communication the catholics had made between the hedges, they found themſelves ſurrounded, and fired upon at once, in front, flank and rear, whilſt Ginkle who had not yet overcome the difficulties of the rugged and uneven ground, could not afford them any aſſiſtance. This falſe ſtep nearly occaſioned the entire defeat of that wing; for the men thus embarraſſed gave way on all ſides, ſome to the corn field, while others even fled back through the bog. When the Engliſh generals beheld this ſcene, they bent their whole force to that quarter, where their friends were diſtreſſed, while St. Ruth viewing from an eminence their embarraſſment, threw his hat up three times in the air, and ſhouted for joy; giving thoſe about him the aſſurances of what he conſidered a certain victory.

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His attention, however was ſoon directed to the Engliſh cavalry on his leſt, who ſeeing the alarming diſorder of the centre puſhed on with incredible ardour cloſe by the walls of the caſtle through all the fire of their apponents, to the amazement of whom they forced their way through a narrow and dangerous defile. St. Ruth now finding the ſcene about to change, and obſerving the two diviſions of the enemy to the right and left gathering upon the riſing ground, reſolved with all ſpeed to prevent the junction. He rode down with a body of horſe from the hill, determined to fall upon the enemy's cavalry in a dangerous hollow way, through which they were obliged to paſs. But while he was conducting this enterprize a cannon ball deprived him of life. This ſo diſheartened his men, that they firſt halted and afterwards fled; nor could Sarsfield, who was ſecond in command, be of any ſervice in this criſis, ſince on account of the enmity that ſubſiſted between him and St. Ruth, he was totally ignorant of that general's plans and diſpoſitions.

THE whole catholic army was now divided into three bodies, neither of which knew what plan they were to act upon, while the two diviſions of Ginkle's army, conducted by their generals, kept their uniform diſpoſition, of verging towards each other; which alone could procure them victory, they found themſelves every moment nearer attaining their end; while the body of Engliſh appointed to paſs the hollow way having compaſſed their deſign, began to attack the enemy in flank, who were totally unable to prevent them; which perceiving, after a ſtruggle that was vain, they fled with precipitation and abandoned the field to the Engliſh, who gained a complete victory. The glory of this conqueſt they however ſullied by their barbarity and cruelty in not granting quarters to the vanquiſhed, who loſt in the action and purſuit about ſeven thouſand men, together with their tents baggage and military ſtores. The loſs of the Engliſh amounted to no more than ſeven hundred ſlain in battle.

THE Engliſh very probably owed this victory to the death of St. Ruth, who though he

was ill beloved by the catholics, and had loſt them Athlone, was yet an able general. And it muſt be allowed, that the catholics made a moſt gallant reſiſtance as long as there exiſted any probability of ſucceſs, and therefore ought to have been treated as a brave and valiant enemy.

Limerick being the only place of any conſiderable ſtrength remaining in the hands of the Iriſh, thither the fugitives retired, and Ginkle immediately prepared to follow them, taking all places in his way and Galway among the reſt. Ginkle made his approaches to Limerick in the ſame manner William had done before, and met with little oppoſition, as the catholics were reſolved to truſt to the ſtrength of their fortifications, and the aid from France which they now expected rather than by any hazards to diſpirit the ſhattered remains of their armies. Ginkle continued for the ſpace of ten days battering the town, which ſtill held out, in hopes of either obtaining ſuccour from France, or of harraſſing the beſiegers ſo as to oblige them to deſert their attempt in the ſame manner William

William had done the year before. But after every effort had been made in defence of the town, the garriſon on the 23d of September beat a parley. The Engliſh granted a truce for three days; and on the laſt day of the truce, the catholic leaders propoſed the terms of capitulation, which Ginkle refuſed to grant.

By a ſecond deputation, he was deſired to propoſe ſuch terms as he would grant. He conſented that the catholics ſhould enjoy the exerciſe of their religion, as in the reign of Charles II. He engaged that all included in the capitulation ſhould enjoy their eſtates, and purſue their employments freely as in Charles's reign, that their gentry ſhould be allowed the uſe of arms, and that no oath ſhould be required of any except that of allegiance.

The garriſon accepted theſe conceſſions as the baſis of a treaty; and on the 3d of October, was adjuſted and ſigned the civil articles by the chief governors Porter and Coningſby who arrived in the camp for that purpoſe; and the military ones by general Ginkle.

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A few days after the capitulation was ſigned, a French fleet of eighteen ſail with ammunition and proviſions, arrived on the coaſt, a ſight which a few days before would have been moſt welcome to the catholics, but now only ſerved to overwhelm them with ſorrow.

CHAP

CHAP. IIII.

William's Situation,—Maſſacre of Glenco.—Iriſh Proteſtants diſſatisfied with the Terms granted the Catholics at Limerick.—Moſt of the Catholic Soldiers embarked for France.—An account of the Conſpiracy formed againſt William.—Death of James and William.

A. D. 1691. DURING theſe tranſactions in Ireland, William was no leſs employed in foreign than in domeſtic wars. Lewis XIV. penetrated into Piedmont, before the Germans could prevent his deſigns; but when they arrived the French retired. On the Rhine, the German and the French armies were nearly equal to each other; for which reaſon they avoided coming to action; whilſt in Flanders, William forced Mareſchall Boufflers to abandon the bombardment of Liege; but in return when he quitted his army, the French defeated part of it near to Combron.

THE Engliſh and French fleets watched each other, and moſt people were uneaſy at the enormous expences the nation had been at,

at, without having obtained any conſiderable ſucceſs to counter-balance the vaſt ſums that had been ſo liberally granted. Yet William, imagining, that when Ireland was reduced, he might aſk almoſt any thing ſecurely of his parliament, at the end of the campaign, fitted out a large fleet; muſtered ſixty five thouſand land forces for the ſervices of the enſuing year, for the ſupport of which, after ſome delays, no leſs a ſum than three millions and an half was granted.

THERE were attempts made however to procure many popular laws, to one of which the king refuſed his aſſent, namely that of eſtabliſhing Judges in their offices for life; which plainly ſhews, that William notwithſtanding his acceſſion to the throne, reſulted *immediately* from the will of the people, was too tenacious of his new prerogative to relinquiſh a particle of it, though his preſent Majeſty George III. cheerfully made conceſſions on ſimilar principles to both the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. William came to the throne ſolely by the miſconduct, folly and arbitrary ſway of the tyrannic James; profeſſed himſelf the ſcourge of tyranny and

and oppreſſion; but impartiality obliges us to ſay that William himſelf reſorted to deſpotic and barbarous acts, by eſtabliſhing his power over part of his dominions in the blood of his unreſiſting ſubjects, I allude to the *maſſacre of Glenco* in Scotland. The cauſe and effect of which, juſtice demands ſhould be ingenuouſly related, as ſuch events, as tend to pourtray the characters and conduct of thoſe two princes who contended for dominion in Ireland, ought not to be concealed from poſterity. Upon the diſcovery of the conſpiracy againſt William in England, in the year 1690, Lord Tarbet, having ſuggeſted a ſcheme for prevailing on the Highlanders to lay down their arms, which they had taken up under Lord Dundee, and which they had never ſince entirely quitted; and Lord Breadalbane offered to carry it into effect. Breadalbane's offers had been the more readily accepted by government, becauſe He was known to have more influence and credit with the Highlanders, than any man in Scotland, at the time there were rumours of a French invaſion into that country in favour of the dethroned Monarch. But government neglected to carry this project into effect, on account of ſome advantages recent-

ly gained over the Highlanders, and who, after having heard the invaſion was to reach no farther than England, had kept themſelves quiet within their own country in the ſummer; but winter had no ſooner ſet in, than they renewed their hoſtilities.

Upon this Breadalbane revived his propoſal, and ſent his ſcheme for ſettling the Highlands, to Sir John Dalrymple ſecretary of ſtate, who was then attending William in Flanders. The ſcheme was this, that a pardon and twelve thouſand pounds, ſhould be given to the Highlanders, moſt of the money to be applied to exonerate their eſtates from the Duke of Argyle's claim, and that a penſion ſhould be granted to all the Highland chiefs in Scotland, on condition of their keeping four thouſand of their people diſciplined for war; and ready to ſerve at home and abroad.

The ſecretary readily adopted it, and laid it before the King, who ſent for Breadalbane to come to him in Flanders to adjuſt the terms. On Breadalbane's return to Scotland he brought the treaty with the Highlanders nearly

nearly to a conclusion. A proclamation issued in the autumn of 1691, which declared that all rebels who took the oaths to the government, before the first of January ensuing, should be pardoned.

The Duke of Hamilton in the mean time, either from envy against Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, or because he believed he could make better terms for William, sent emissaries to the Highlands to prevent the conclusion of the treaty.

The Highland chiefs acted with much duplicity, they wrote to James for his permission to make a treaty, promising that they would observe it no longer than it was for his interest, and at the same time to create jealousies in William of his servants, and among his servants, themselves, they informed Duke Hamilton and Breadalbane's enemies, Lord Slaine and his Son, that Breadalbane had concurred with them in the terms on which they had asked James's consent to the treaty. Upon this, accusations were presented to the privy council and parliament, and sent to the King

againſt Breadalbane; and general Mackay inflated with the honour he had acquired in his own profeſſion in Ireland, wrote privately to the King againſt Lord Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, moſt of which were communicated to the latter of theſe perſons.

WILLIAM, who was ſteady to the perſons he confided in, received the accuſations with diſregard. But Breadalbane retained deep reſentment in his breaſt againſt the Highlanders for their breach of faith, as well as for the injuries they deſigned to do him. Wherefore a new ſcheme was ſuggeſted by Breadalbane, which was adopted by Dalrymple the ſecretary, *and aſſented to by William*, for cutting off all the Highlanders, who ſhould not take the oaths to the new government, by the time preſcribed in the proclamation. The mode of execution was intended to be by what were called in Scotland letters of fire and ſword, moſt inhuman, but legal inſtruments of deſtruction in that country againſt attainted rebels. The order was ſent to the privy council, who immediately appointed a committee to carry it into execution;

execution; and ordered money, a ſhip, and other military preparations for that purpoſe.

Breadalbane, Tarber and Argyle, had agreed privately to lend their aſſiſtance, if neceſſary. William's troops were properly poſted. The Marquis of Athol, who, had for ſome time, by means of general Mackay, been paying his court to the new government, likewiſe had an hundred men prepared for the ſame abominable purpoſe. But it is probable that ſome of the privy council warned the Highlanders of their danger, for all the attainted chiefs took the oaths previous to the time prefixed, except Mac Donald of Glenco. Glenco went on the laſt of December to fort William, and deſired the oaths to be tendered to him by the governor, but as that officer was not a civil magiſtrate, he refuſed to adminiſter the oaths. Glenco then went to the country town to take them before the ſheriff of the county, but was prevented by bad weather from reaching the town, until a few days after the term preſcribed by the proclamation was elapſed.

THE sheriff scrupled at first, but at length was prevailed upon to take his oath of allegiance. Advantage however was taken of Glenco's not having literally complied with the terms of the proclamation, and a warrant for his execution was procured from William, which was signed both above and below with the king's own hand. This warrant was put in force, with many circumstances of extreme rigour. Sir John Dalrymple gave orders that the execution should be effectual, and without any previous warning. For this purpose, in the month of February, two companies of Highland soldiers, chosen for the occasion, went, not as enemies, but as friends, into the valley of Glenco where all the clan lived. To conceal the intention the better, the soldiers were of their own lineage, and the commanding officer captain Campbell was uncle to the wife of one of Glenco's sons. All were received with the rude but kind hospitality of the country.

THEY continued in the valley near a fortnight, and then in the night time rose to butcher their hosts. Captain Campbell supped

ped and played cards with Glenco's family, the evening before. Thirty eight men were ſlain. The reſt would have ſhared the ſame fate, had not the alarm been given by one of Glenco's ſons, who overheard one of the ſoldiers ſay to another, "he liked not the work; he feared not to fight the Mac Donalds in the field, but had ſcarcely courage to kill them in their ſleep, but their officers were anſwerable for the deed, not they."—Two hundred victims had been devoted by the government, but of theſe an hundred and ſixty eſcaped, carrying with them an irreconcileable hatred to the new government. William, under whoſe ſanction this treachery had been perpetrated, finding his name every where execrated for the barbarity, and hearing alſo, that the affair had been publiſhed and made a great noiſe at Paris, and obſerving the horror it excited among his own ſubjects, affected to ſet on foot an enquiry concerning the authors of the maſſacre, the previous knowledge of which he now thought proper to diſavow, by ſaying he had ſigned the order amongſt an heap of other papers, without being acquainted with its contents. A weak

excuſe,

excuſe, the futility of which ſufficiently appeared by his actions; for though he diſmiſſed the maſter of Stair from his employment of ſecretary; and affected to make ſome buſtle in the affair, yet he never brought the perpetrators of this barbarity to condign puniſhment, as unqueſtionably he would have done for the ſake of his own honour and character, if he himſelf had not been too deeply implicated in the buſineſs, by having ſeriouſly aſſented to this infamous ſcheme of aſſaſſination.

The Iriſh proteſtants in general were much diſſatisfied with the terms granted by Ginkle to the catholics. They complained that they who had ſuffered for their loyalty to William were diſregarded, while their enemies were not only pardoned, but even indulged, ſince they were allowed the honours of war, and permitted to tranſport themſelves into foreign countries. But the event proved that Ginkle was right in granting ſuch favourable terms, as the arrival of the French fleet would have been the means of raiſing the ſiege of Limerick, and have added freſh vigour and ſpirit to the Iriſh catholics. After the capitulation

of

Limerick fourteen thouſand catholics conveyed themſelves beyond the ſeas, preferring to abandon their native country for ever, and to become the ſubjects of a foreign power, rather than relinquiſh the full exerciſe of their religion, and the intereſt of their exiled and unfortunate ſovereign.

Such of the catholic troops as remained at Limerick on the ratification of the articles of capitulation, embarked under convoy of the French fleet for France; Lewis XIV. had given orders for their being new cloathed, and put into comfortable quarters. Thus James endeavoured to ſooth himſelf, and them, for their diſappointments and ill ſucceſs in Ireland.

On the other hand, William conferred marks of honour and eſteem on his friends, but even in this he could not diveſt himſelf of manifeſt tokens of partiality to foreigners, which were extremely diſguſting to the Engliſh nation. However William found the Engliſh in general well pleaſed with the reduction of Ireland, but his want of attention

ſhould attach themſelves to the cauſe of James, who was not only their lawful ſovereign, but a catholic prince, therefore no candid or judicious perſon will either ſtigmatize the catholics of thoſe days with the names of traitors or rebels, as their loyalty to James lead to all their misfortunes.

HOWEVER, the proceedings in Ireland, at this critical period, tend to prove demonſtratively, that of all animoſity and hatred, the religious is the moſt laſting and violent, and productive of the moſt direful and pernicious conſequences to the parties themſelves, and the welfare of their country. That the conteſted claims of princes induce the moſt terrible evils that can befal any nation, is a maxim which can never be too forcibly inculcated, though it ſeems to be often neglected or miſconceived, and notwithanding England, Ireland and Scotland, have ſo often ſuffered, and been duped by ambitious and deſigning men, and ſuch there always are, who take advantage of, and pretend to be actuated by religious or party zeal. However William, under all theſe diſadvantages kept the diadem he had obtained, and artfully deviſed means to eſtabliſh what force

force could not effect. The city of Limerick having been ſurrendered, and the wars of Ireland by that means concluded, he at length became maſter of three kingdoms; a remarkable æra in the annals of our country.

Before we proceed farther with the affairs of Ireland, it becomes neceſſary to advert to the plot that was formed in England to deprive William of his three kingdoms at once, and to reſtore the exiled prince to the poſſeſſion of them.

The king of France, ſenſible of the great advantage he ſhould derive from dethroning William, determined now in earneſt to keep the promiſe he had made to James, of endeavouring to land him in England at the head of a large body of forces, that he might avail himſelf of the diſcontents which then exiſted there. James wrote to ſome of the members of the privy council, and others making liberal offers, and many perſons of diſtinction were prevailed on to adopt a plan propoſed for reſtoring him.

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The officers were much diſpleaſed at the promotion of foreigners among them. The ſeamen in general retained an affection for their exiled king, who had been often among them, and always proud of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as their friend. The Iriſh proteſtants were diſſatisfied with the treaty of Limerick, while the Highlanders were incenſed beyond meaſure at the part they well knew William had in the murder of Glenco; and the people of all the three kingdoms complained loudly of enormous taxes and the extravagant expenditure of the public money.

Amidst theſe grievances, which no doubt were much exaggerated by prejudices and perſonal animoſity, James and Lewis found it no difficult matter to tamper with ſome of the leading perſonages in William's court. In the year 1690 James ſent Colonel Bulkely and Sackville over into England, with proper inſtructions to diſcover how far thoſe who had formerly ſerved him now ſtood affected to his cauſe.

James endeavoured firſt to work upon Lord Godolphin but that nobleman was very much upon

upon the reſerve; He next applied to Halliſax; that Lord deſired him to let Godolphin know his ſentiments. upon this it is ſaid Godolphin profeſſed his repentance of his connexions with the new King, and wrote to James accordingly telling his majeſty, he would reſign his employment of firſt Lord of the treaſury. James in anſwer deſired him not to do any thing ſo prejudicial to his own intereſt. Sackville, on his part, endeavoured to win over Marlborough, whoſe wife's ſiſter was married to Lord Tyrconnel.

This nobleman ſeems, by a ſtrange duplicity, to have promiſed ſervices he never meant to perform, and made profeſſions he never ſeriouſly thought on. He was the firſt perſon who gave James's friends in Ireland notice of William's deſign of going over there, yet by an expedition againſt Cork and Kinſale, which was voluntarily undertaken by him, he acted as a deſperate enemy to his former maſter's intereſt; while he ever expreſſed ſentiments of tenderneſs for that unhappy monarch, and always kept terms with his party. Marlborough now entered into engagements

ments with Sackville, and even wrote to James entreating his and the queen's forgiveneſs for his offences; and James was likewiſe aſſured that the Princeſs Anne would be brought back to her duty by Lady Marlborough who had acquired a conſiderable influence over her. James granted all he aſked, but ſtill Marlborough required more. He deſired that a power in James's name might be granted him of giving free pardon to all thoſe who had oppoſed James's intereſt in the late conteſt.

James alſo complied with this requeſt; on this occaſion many played a double part, or ſtood neuter in expectation of the event. In great Britain and Ireland at this time there appeared to be three diſtinct parties; the firſt was attached to King William, the ſecond to King James, while the third, who were by many accounted the moſt rational of all, had not in fact ſo ſtrong an attachment to either of theſe three princes as they had, to what they conceived ought to be the conſtitution of their country. Many of theſe now correſponded with James, not ſo much

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out of regard for him, or approbation of his government, as from the expectation of bringing an exiled monarch to make conceſſions, which William whatever he had profeſſed now ſeemed averſe from yielding to, and to deliver the kingdom from the preſent enormous burthen of taxes and the ruinous proſpect of a civil war in future.

Admirals Ruſſel and Carter offered their ſervices to James. Though both theſe officers were rigid ſupporters of the liberty of the ſubject, and for which they ſtrenuouſly ſtood, yet the dethroned monarch aſſured them he would conform to their principles. Princeſs Ann having been ill treated by her ſiſter, was prevailed on to join this faction, whom it was expected the majority of the church would follow, as they had been highly incenſed at the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery in Scotland, and the treatment of the non-juring prelates whom William in his anger had deprived of their ſees, and given them to favourites of his own.

THE agent who forwarded theſe negociations, was Captain Lloyd, a rough, brave, ſeaman, ſtrongly attached to James, who ardently wiſhed to promote his reſtoration.

IN conſequence of the communications of this agent, the invaſion of England was determined to be effected by a mighty power from France, in the ſucceeding ſpring, for which purpoſe, the French began to equip two fleets, one at Breſt, and the other at Toulon, both of which when compleated and united were to be put under the command of Monſieur De Tourville. Twenty thouſand land forces, one half of which were Iriſh were ordered down to the coaſt of Normandy, and all manner of ſuitable preparations were made for the propoſed expedition.

JAMES'S friends, both in England and Scotland, were by no means idle; Lancaſhire was provided with eight regiments of horſe and foot; two regiments of horſe were ready in London, and many other parts of the nation were equally inclined for inſurrection, although perhaps not equally furniſhed with the

the means of it. The Highlanders were too mindful of the maſſacre of Glenco, not to be ready to ſeize the firſt opportunity of revenging the injuries done to their country; and in many other parts of that kingdom, James had many ſtaunch friends who were ready to riſk their lives and fortunes for his re-eſtabliſhment.

Ireland, which William had left an heap of ruins was ſcarce conſidered defenſible by the lords juſtices. However as this country was not intended for the ſcene of action, there ſeemed to be little danger of the catholics avowing their former ſentiments or connexions; for, although their affections were not entirely detached from their old maſter, yet, however inclined they might be, they were by no means in a condition at preſent to diſturb the new government.

At this time, James addreſſed a letter to the lords of council in England, inviting them and many ladies of diſtinction to St. Germains, where the queen being pregnant, he wiſhed they might attend in order to re-

ſute the ſcandal of her barrenneſs; he alſo now circulated a declaration formed to induce his former ſubjects to declare in his favour. He then informed them that with the aſſiſtance of his ally the king of France, he would make another effort for the recovery of his crown, yet, notwithſtanding ſuch aſſiſtance, he did not mean to preclude his good ſubjects from contributing to his reſtoration, and that of their ancient conſtitution. He gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurance that the French troops in his ſervice ſhould be kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and ſhould be ſent home, the moment the end for which they came would be accompliſhed. He ſaid, that on the firſt arrival of the Prince of Orange in this kingdom, he had choſen rather to rely on the aſſiſtance and ſupport of his own countrymen, than on that of the foreign auxiliaries that were ſo liberally offered him; that when he was ina condition to oppoſe force with force, he had offered his ſubjects all reaſonable ſatisfaction. He obſerved, that when afterwards he ſaw himſelf abandoned and betrayed by his own ſubjects; his army, his miniſters, and even his own

own family; and when he had been forced out of his own palace and compelled to take refuge in France, they had conſtrued this his retreat for ſecurity into a neighbouring kingdom, as an abdication of his throne; and a convention illegally aſſembled, that had no right to alter the property, even of the pooreſt ſubject, had, on that pretence, contrived to annihilate the foundations of the conſtitution. He added, that it was reaſonably to be preſumed, that the eyes of the nation were e'er this ſufficiently opened to the enormous expences they had recently incurred, a conſideration of itſelf ſufficient to evince, that the remedy was worſe than the diſeaſe; he wiſhed them alſo to conſider, that even though the uſurpation ſhould continue for his natural life, yet his title would ſurvive in his children, and expoſe the nation to the calamity and horrors of civil war.

On all theſe grounds he exhorted and entreated his good ſubjects to repair to his ſtandard, purſuant as he ſaid to the tenor of their oaths and bounden duty; and under ſemblance of commanding them not to pay any taxes for

for the ſupport of the uſurper, he promiſed a free pardon to all ſoldiers, as well as others, who would deſert William's ſervice, engaging that they ſhould be paid their arrears, and that the foreign troops on laying down their arms ſhould be alſo paid, and ſafely conducted into their reſpective countries. He proteſted, that he would maintain the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, in all its rights, though he expreſſed his intention of uſing his influence with parliament, for allowing liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects. James, ſenſible that the Engliſh were jealous of their priveleges of trade, took care to obſerve; that he intended to reſtore their commerce, by enforcing a due obſervance of the Navigation Act, which had of late been moſt ſhamefully violated, that he would uſe his beſt exertions to put the navy on the moſt reſpectable footing, and that he would do every thing elſe to contribute to the happineſs and grandeur of the Engliſh nation. After all theſe offers, in concluſion, on his part he declared himſelf perfectly reſigned to the will of Heaven, at the ſame time reminding his ſubjects, that

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ſuch of them as ſhould refuſe his offers and appear, in arms againſt him, after having ſo fully communicated his intentions; would certainly be anſwerable in the ſight of Heaven for all the blood that in future would be ſhed on the occaſion. From many circumſtances, it is evident, that James promiſed himſelf much from this declaration, and had he landed in England at the time he made it, it is probable he would not have been deceived; for how much ſoever the parliament and people were diſpoſed to ſlight his remonſtrances, when firſt he quitted his kingdom; it is evident from their demeanour afterwards, that the people had in a great meaſure changed their minds: ſome becauſe they were diſappointed in their expectations of William's government, but a much greater number on account of his partial diſtribution of places and honours. But what was moſt ſingular in this circumſtance was, that William in general was abandoned by the Whigs, he thereupon threw himſelf into the arms of the Tories, and perhaps he did not think himſelf very ſecure with either party. However

ever by the vigilance, of the miniſtry the efforts of James's declaration proved in a great meaſure abortive.

PREPARATIONS were making in England for the reception of the invaders. Orders were iſſued for all the ſeamen in the kingdom to offer themſelves for the royal ſervice, on pain of incurring puniſhment, if they refuſed; and the different ſhips of war then abroad were immediately ordered home.

A certain number of ſhips were deſtined to obſerve the enemy's motions, and to watch them in their ports and harbours. The old ſhips were repaired and new ſhips built, both in England and Holland, and the command of the entire fleet was veſted in Admiral Ruſſel, notwithſtanding the ſuſpicions that had ariſen of his correſpondence with James, and the repeated intimations that had been given William of the great danger of committing ſuch a power into his hands. The militia was raiſed all over England, and papiſts were commanded to remove ten miles from the capital, Scotland was put into a good ſtate of defence

defence, and every effort was uſed that could poſſibly tend to the ſecurity of Great Britain; Ireland alone was neglected, moſt probably for the reaſon aſſigned by Dalrymple, namely becauſe it was deemed impoſſible to ſecure it.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the Engliſh court was making to itſelf enemies at the deareſt rate imaginable. Not to mention the impriſonment of Marlborough, the grounds of which we have already related, and that of other noblemen, the Princeſs Anne, preſumptive heir to the throne, who had waved her right of ſucceſſion in favour of her brother-in-law, had her guards taken from her, and was loaded with every diſgrace that her ſiſter durſt, and more than in common prudence ſhe ought to have caſt upon her. In ſhort the whole kingdom was in ſuch a ferment, that had James once landed in England at the head of his allies, there is little doubt but he would be reſtored to the crown, while William was abroad waſting the blood of his Engliſh ſubjects in thoſe wars, in which nothing but their connections with him could poſſibly

poſſibly have engaged them. However, a variety of accidents completely prevented James from ever making the attempt. The Engliſh much alarmed, had made preparations in proportion to the danger, and their fleet being joined by the Dutch, they found themſelves in a condition to meet the enemy.

On the, 19th of May, in the year 1692, theſe two great naval armaments met. Tourville was inferior to the combined fleets in the proportion of fifty to ninety nine, yet reſolving to ſtrain every nerve on the occaſion, he bore down with great boldneſs on the enemy. The two Admiral's ſhips meeting, a bloody engagement enſued, which laſted for an hour and an half, until at length Tourville's ſhip was ſo much damaged as obliged her to be towed off, whilſt ſeveral other French ſhips cloſed in to favour the retreat. It was now that the Engliſh force prevailed, it was now that the French admiral was ſenſible of his temerity, in coming to an Engagement he might have avoided, and which was contrary to the opinion of his moſt experienced officers.

NEVERTHELESS the action continued all the day, the French maintained a running fight during the afternoon; and at night the Engliſh, Dutch and French fleets anchored cloſe to each other off the coaſt of France. The next morning the French having ſuſtained a conſiderable damage, four ſhips were blown up, and many others having deſerted them, fled along their own coaſts, purſued by the Engliſh and Dutch. Tourville's ſhip and two others took refuge at Cherbourg, eighteen others followed their example near La-Hogue; and ſeveral more eſcaped through the race of Alderney.

A. D. 1692. ON the fifth day, Ruſſel prepared to deſtroy ſuch of the enemy's ſhips as had run a-ground, while the French on the other hand, whoſe army was drawn up on the ſhore, raiſed up platforms mounted with artillery, and uſed every poſſible means to defend them; excepting that they had not followed the judicious advice given by king James, who was preſent, which was, to put a number of regiments on board the veſſels that run on ſhore; an expedient

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that would have proved moſt likely to have preſerved them from the fury of the Engliſh, who excited by a ſpirit of revenge, equal to their former fears, prevailed ſo far as to reduce the moſt of them to aſhes.

The exiled king had the mortification to ſee them deſtroyed, and with them the beſt hopes of his reſtoration. After this, James retired to the monaſtery of La Trappe, and the Engliſh on their return to their country were received with all the applauſe and reward, which the government conceived to be ſo juſtly due to men, who had attained ſo important a victory.

Notwithstanding this defeat, many attempts were afterwards made to reinſtate this unfortunate family, both by their adherents at home, and their friends abroad, but all proved abortive, and the ſucceſſion was firmly eſtabliſhed in the proteſtant line upon revolution principles.

Some may here remark that it was extraordinary that the admirals Ruſſel and Carter, whom we have mentioned as holding a correſpondence

reſpondence with James ſhould ſo effectually contribute to the deſtruction of the fleet of his allies; this, combined with other circumſtances, has occaſioned ſome hiſtorians to conclude, that their correſpondence with James was known to William, and countenanced by him, in order to become poſſeſſed of his rival's ſecrets, however, we do not find that the proofs are ſufficient to ſanction ſuch a concluſion.

Russel probably joined the malecontents, whoſe example Carter followed, partly becauſe he was diſſatisfied with ſome of William's conduct, and partly becauſe he thought it likely that the nation might procure better terms by the reſtoration of an exiled prince, than they could expect by ſupporting one already on the throne. Moreover, in the midſt of his correſpondence with James, he repeatedly cautioned that unfortunate monarch to prevent the Engliſh and the French fleet meeting in an hoſtile manner, declaring that if they did, he would conſider it his duty to fire upon the firſt French ſhip, even though he ſhould ſee James himſelf on the quarter-deck; at the ſame time, to evince

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the ſincerity of his promiſes, he propoſed that James ſhould delay the meditated invaſion, and effect it in his abſence, on which account, Ruſſel abſolutely aſked leave of the Engliſh government to make a deſcent upon the coaſt of France. But James concealed theſe intimations of Admiral Ruſſel from Mon. De Tourville.

Tourville was well informed that a correſpondence was carried on between James and Ruſſel, yet he was ignorant of thoſe ſentiments Ruſſel had communicated to James; wherefore he boldly bore down on the Engliſh fleet, imagining probably, that his inferiority in point of numbers, would be outbalanced by his chance of being favoured by the Britiſh admiral and many of his captains. But Ruſſel acting upon the principles already recited, fruſtrated all his deſigns, and with a fleet ſo much ſuperior obtained a complete and abſolute victory. Ruſſel received ſuch compliments and of ſo flattering a nature on this victory, that he became for ever attatched to William, who perhaps prudently overlooked his intended de-

fection,

ſection, when he conſidered how much he required his preſent friendſhip. Indeed it appears ſcarcely probable that William countenanced the correſpondence carried on with James, for although this mode was by no means unnatural to that artful and ſubtle monarch, yet the concern the court expreſſed, the many perſons of diſtinction that were ſeized, the numerous precautions taken, and even the unconſtitutional authority exerted at this juncture, may fully incline us to conclude, that William was not privy to ſuch correſpondence, though it is poſſible that when all was over, William affected a myſterious knowledge of many matters he was really ignorant of.

HOWEVER theſe things were, it is certain the intended invaſion filled the kingdom with fears and apprehenſions, of which the court itſelf largely partook. But it ever was the mode of the Engliſh to riſe ſuperior to paſt misfortunes; ſo when this ſtorm was blown over, every man perſuaded himſelf that he was not frightened nor diſmayed. With the failure of this invaſion, expired the rational hope of the Iriſh catholics. They therefore ſubmitted

ſubmitted to a government they hated, and gave William no further diſturbance during the remainder of his reign. When James's attempts for the recovery of the crown of his anceſtors had been defeated, he led a life of piety and peace, and at length on the 16th day of September, in the year 1700 expired at St. Germains.

A. D 1700 In his laſt illneſs, he conjured his ſon to prefer the conſideration of religion even to that of a throne. He declared he moſt ſincerely forgave the Prince of Orange and all his enemies. He died with evident marks of reſignation and was interred at his own requeſt, without any funeral ſolemnity, in the church of the Engliſh benedictines at Paris.

Thus died a prince who by his own temerity and blind zeal, loſt a crown, which he was born to inherit, and which, had he purſued the dictates of ſound policy, he might have worn unmoleſted to his death, and reſigned to his ſucceſſor in peace. Inſtead of which he bequeathed to his deſcendants the ſhattered

ſhattered ruins of unſupported royalty, and to his people, the dreadful conſequences of a diſputed title, which more than once involved them in inteſtine diſſentions, and the terrors of civil war.

A. D. 1701 In fine, though James was a bad prince, when we conſider him as reigning over a free nation, yet he ſeems to have poſſeſſed many of the qualities of a good man, when we view him only as an individual in the private walks of life. William did not long ſurvive him: his conſtitution being much exhauſted; by the advice of his phyſicians, he accuſtomed himſelf to frequent exerciſe on horſe-back; and on the 21ſt of February, as he was riding from Hampton Court, to Kenſington, his horſe fell under him, and his collar-bone having received a fracture by the violence of the fall, his attendants conveyed him to Hampton Court, where the fracture was reduced by his ſurgeon. In the evening, as he returned in his coach to Kenſington, the ends of the fractured bone having been diſunited by the jolting of the carriage were again replaced by his phyſician

phyſician. On the fourth of March, William was ſo far recoverd as to be able to walk in the gallery at Kenſington. But ſitting in a coach, he fell aſleep, and was afterwards ſeized with a fever. On the ſixth he was ſo weak, that he could not write, and was obliged to uſe a ſtamp to the bills brought for his aſſent, and two days afterwards expired in the fifty ſecond year of his age, having ſurvived his queen ſeven years, and being himſelf ſurvived by his favourite the Duke of Portland.

WILLIAM, was a prince of great coldneſs and reſerve, an utter ſtranger to the warmer paſſions and never animated but in the field. He was particularly devoted to the intereſt of Holland, and was the firſt king that ever abſolutely implicated England in continental connexions. He deviſed the funding ſcheme, and conſequently became the patron of ſtock jobbers. He was generally thought to have ſacrificed all delicacy and honour, by mounting without ſcruple the throne of his father-in-law, and accepting a crown which England at firſt never deſigned to have conferred on him. On the whole, whatſoever were his

his good qualities, they were not ſufficient to render him eaſy as a king, nor his ſubjects collectively happy as a people. Party animoſities in his reign were carried to the moſt extravagant lengths in great Britain and Ireland, and both nations were more than once on the verge of annihilation. At his death he left his dominions involved in fears and doubts which the nature of the ſucceſſion, however apparently ſatisfactory to all parties, was by no means equal to remove.

The conſtitution of England, in this reign, had aſſumed indeed a new aſpect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeaſible right was at length laid aſide by a free parliament. The power of the crown was declared to be derived from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people.

Allegiance and protection, were declared reciprocal ties, and inſeparably linked to each other. The repreſentatives of the nation made a formal demand of a declaration of rights in behalf of their conſtituents; as William III. aſcended the throne in conſequence

of an expreſs capitulation with the people. Yet on this occaſion the zeal of parliament towards the Prince of Orange ſeems to have ſuperſeded their attachment to their own liberty and privileges; or at leaſt they neglected the faireſt opportunity that ever occured, to retrench thoſe prerogatives of the crown, to which all the late and former calamities of the nation were aſcribed. The new monarch retained the old regal power over parliament, in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue and diſſolve them at pleaſure. He poſſeſſed the right of chuſing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of ſtate, and of the houſehold of the army, the navy, and the church. He reſerved the abſolute command of the militia: ſo that he remained maſter of all the inſtruments and engines of corruption and violence; without any other reſtraint than his own moderation and prudent regard to the claim of rights, and principle of reſiſtance, on which the revolution was founded. In fine, the ſettlement was concluded with evident marks of precipitation, before the plan had been fully digeſted and matured; and this will be the caſe in every

every eſtabliſhment formed upon a ſudden emergency in the teeth of oppoſition. And although the revolution proceeded from a republican ſpirit, yet the ſettlement was built upon Tory principles; for the execution of William's government continued ſtill independent of his commiſſion, while his own perſon remaind ſacred and inviolable: thus he governed *jure divino* though he was created *jure humano*.

THE convention parliament had recourſe to an expedient to give that legal ſanction to their proceedings which was ſuppoſed to be wanting, as the convention had not been convened by the king's writ of ſummons, they therefore determined that the Prince of Orange, by virtue of his own authority ſhould change the convention into a parliament, by going to the houſe of Peers, with the uſual ſtate of a ſovereign, and pronouncing a ſpeech from the throne to both houſes.

THIS expedient was accordingly put into practice: but it was an experiment attended with an inſurmountable abſurdity.

If the majority of the convention could not grant a legal ſanction to the eſtabliſhment they had made, they never could inveſt the Prince of Orange with a juſt right to aſcend the throne; for they could not give what they did not poſſeſs. And if he aſcended the throne without a juſt title, he could have no right to ſanctify that aſſembly, who under ſuch circumſtances raiſed him to ſuch elevation. When the people were obliged by tyranny, or other accidents, to have recourſe to the firſt principles of ſociety, namely, their own preſervation in electing a new ſovereign; it will deſerve conſideration, whether that choice was to be effected by the majority of a parliament which had been diſſolved; indeed by any parliament whatſoever, or by the body of the nation aſſembled in communities to ſignify their aſſent or diſſent to the perſon propoſed as their ſovereign.

This kind of election might be attended with great inconvenience and difficulty, but theſe cannot poſſibly be avoided, when the conſtitution is diſſolved, by ſetting aſide the lineal ſucceſſion to the crown. The conſti-

tution

tution is founded on a parliament compoſed of king, lords, and commons; but when there is no longer a king, the parliament is defective, and the conſtitution impaired. The commons are the repreſentatives of the people, expreſsly choſen to maintain the conſtitution in church and ſtate; and ſworn to ſupport the rights of the crown, as well as the liberties of the people: but though they are elected to *maintain*, they have no power to *alter* the conſtitution. When the king forfeits the allegiance of his ſubjects, and it becomes neceſſary to dethrone him; the power of ſo doing cannot poſſibly reſide in the repreſentatives who are choſen under certain limitations, for the purpoſes of a legiſlature, which no longer exiſts; their power is of courſe at an end, and they are reduced to a level with other individuals who conſtitute the community. The right of altering the conſtitution, therefore, or of deviating from the eſtabliſhed practice of inheritance, in regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown is inherent in the body of the people, and every individual has an equal right to his ſhare in the general determination; whether his opinion be ſignified *viva voce* or by

by a repreſentative, whom he appoints and inſtructs for the purpoſe. It may be ſuggeſted that the Prince of Orange was raiſed to the throne without any convulſion, or any ſuch difficulties and inconveniences as we have affirmed to be the neceſſary conſequence of a meaſure of that kind. To this remark we anſwer, that ſince the revolution, theſe kingdoms have been divided, and harraſſed by violent and implacable factions, that eagerly ſeek the deſtruction of each other; that they have been expoſed to plots, conſpiracies, inſurrections civil wars and ſucceſſive rebellions, which have not been quelled or defeated without vaſt effuſion of blood, infinite miſchief, calamity and expence to the nation; that they were ſubjected to all thoſe alarms and dangers which are engendered by a diſputed title to the throne; and the efforts of an artful pretender; that they are neceſſarily wedded to the affairs of the continent, and their intereſt ſacrificed to foreign connections, from which they can never be diſengaged. Perhaps all theſe calamities might have been prevented by the interpoſition of the Prince of Orange. James, without forfeiting the crown, might have been laid

laid under ſuch reſtrictions as would put it out of his power to tyrannize over his ſubjects, either in ſpirituals or temporals. The power of the militia might have been veſted in the two houſes of parliament, as well as the nomination of perſons to fill the great offices of the church and ſtate, and ſuperintend the oeconomy of the adminiſtration, in the application of the public money; a law might have paſſed for annual parliaments, and the king might have been deprived of his power to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and diſſolve them at pleaſure.

Had theſe meaſures been taken, the king muſt have been abſolutely diſabled from employing either force, or corruption in the proſecution of arbitrary deſigns, and the people would have been fairly repreſented in a rotation of parliaments, whoſe power and influence would have been, but of one year's continuance.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Acceſſion of the Princeſs Anne.—Great Diſcontents in Ireland.—The poſture of Affairs in England.—The trial of Sacheverel.—Death of Queen Anne.

A. D. 1701. ANNE, Princeſs of Denmark ſucceeded William in the ſovereignty, which in many reſpects was more limited than formerly, and yet was not altogether ſuch as the Whigs could have wiſhed; however all parties ſeemed to rejoice at her ſucceſſion, the Whigs, as they expected new ſucceſſions from a new ſovereign, the Tories becauſe they entertained great hopes from a princeſs who was a favourer of monarchy, and an avowed defender of the church, a daughter of king James II. and unenſlaved to Dutch or Germanic connexions or alliances.

THE moderate party derived their ſatisfaction from a more rational ſource, for they anticipated in their minds the glories of a reign, which as yet ſtands almoſt unrivalled in the

the Britiſh annals. Anne therefore aſcended the throne, amidſt the acclamations of her ſubjects, who were diſpoſed to believe her, when ſhe told them from the throne, that there was nothing which they could expect, or deſire from her, that ſhe would not be ready to do for their proſperity and happineſs. In the year 1703, great diſcontents broke out in Ireland, which were principally owing to the conduct of the truſtees for the forfeited eſtates. The Duke of Ormond opened the parliament, which was compoſed of men inimical to the catholics, and ignobly attached to their own private intereſts, which they attempted to ſupport at the expence of the conſtitution, and the independence of the country. In the ſpeech which he delivered from the throne, he aſſured the members of his warm attachment to his native land. But in their addreſſes to the queen and Duke of Ormond, they complained that they had been miſrepreſented as, being deſirous to render Ireland independant of England, and to vindicate themſelves from an aſperſion which they ſaid, could only attach itſelf to the catholics, they declared that they held the kingdom of Ireland to be

dependant

dependant on the imperial crown of England. This declaration however incompatible with truth and fact, was no doubt congenial to adventurers, who conſidered only how they could beſt ſecure their late acquired properties, which they thought could never be effectually done, without overturning the undoubted independence of Ireland.

They alſo reſolved that the proteſtant freeholders had been falſely and maliciouſly traduced in a book, intitled, the report of the commiſſioners, appointed to enquire into the Iriſh forfeitures, and they farther reſolved, that Francis Anſley, John Trenchard, Henry Longford and James Hamilton, the authors of that book, had ſcandalouſly and maliciouſly miſrepreſented and traduced the proteſtant freeholders of Ireland, and had endeavoured to create miſconception and jealouſly between the people of England and the proteſtants of Ireland. In conſequence of this, Mr. Anſley was expelled the houſe; as for Hamilton he was dead, and Trenchard retired to England. The commiſſioners had finiſhed the enquiry relative to the forfeitures, previous to the meeting

meeting of parliament, and ſold at under value the beſt of the forfeited eſtates, to a company in England. The parliament neglected a petition of this company, praying to be enabled to make conveyance of lands in Ireland, and John Aſgill their agent, being a member, was expelled, who had offered to lend money on the public credit, provided an act was made to confirm and eſtabliſh the company's purchaſe. The Iriſh parliament then proceeded to enumerate the grievances of the kingdom, they ſtated the conſtitution of Ireland had of late been much ſhook, and that their lives, liberties and properties had been called in queſtion, and tried in a manner unknown to their anceſtors; aſſerting at the ſame time, that they had been put to an unneceſſary expence by the truſtees of the forfeited eſtates, that exceeded in value the current caſh of the nation. That their trade was decayed, and that their manufactures particularly the woollen had been completely ruined by king William, in favour of the Britiſh manufactures.

After ſtating theſe, and many other grievances from which they prayed relief, they voted the neceſſary ſupplies, with a large ſum of money, to make good former deficiencies. Nevertheleſs they continued to make a ſtrict ſcrutiny into many public abuſes; and among the reſt, they diſcovered a falſe charge of one hundred thouſand pounds upon the public. They voted a proviſion for half-pay officers, and aboliſhed as many penſions as amounted to more than ſixteen thouſand pounds a year.

They paſſed an act for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown as in England, and a moſt ſevere one againſt catholics, ſtill more rigid than that which had been enacted in England againſt them. By this act it was ordained, amongſt other things, that all eſtates of catholics ſhould be equally divided among the children, notwithſtanding any ſettlement to the contrary, unleſs the perſons to whom they were otherwiſe deviſed, would qualify themſelves by taking the oaths, and conforming to the church of England.

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How far this bill was conſonant to the conditions of Limerick is too obvious to remark; however, it is ſaid, that it was by no means agreeable to the Engliſh miniſtry, who expected large preſents from the Iriſh catholics, by the rejection of it, and a conſiderable ſum was actually raiſed by the catholics for that purpoſe. The bill was not rejected, but returned from England with an addition which it was conceived the Iriſh parliament would never accede to, as it directly militated againſt the intereſts of the diſſenting proteſtants who had proved themſelves their firmeſt friends. It was this, that no perſon in Ireland ſhould be deemed capable of any employment, or of being in the magiſtracy in any city or town corporate, who did not qualify himſelf by receiving the ſacrament purſuant to the teſt act paſſed in England.

Athough this was a great hardſhip on the diſſenters, yet the Iriſh parliament ſacrificed that conſideration, rather than not humble the catholics, ſo that this illiberal and unconſtitutional bill and its amendment were received without ſcruple, and paſſed into a law.

AFTER this tranſaction, the Iriſh parliament proceeded to vote, that a work entitled Memoirs of the late King James the Second "was a ſeditious libel;" ordering it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, and the bookſeller and printer to be proſecuted. A member then informed the houſe that certain diſorderly catholics had aſſembled in the county of Limerick, and plundered ſome proteſtants; upon which they immediately in a ſudden fit of zeal, reſolved that the papiſts of Ireland, ſtill retained hopes of the acceſſion of the perſon known by name and title of the Prince of Wales, in the life time of the late king James, and now by that of James the Third. They were thus proceeding, when they were ſtopped in the midſt of their career, and adjourned by the lord lieutenant, againſt whom, they all inveighed vehemently on adopting ſo neceſſary and ſo truly ſalutary a meaſure.

INDEED, it ſeems evident that ſeverity was by no means calculated to conciliate the catholics, and a ſeaſonable ſhow of indulgence, though

though unimportant in itſelf, might have prevented many evils, which at times ſo much prevailed.

MANY Iriſh catholics have admitted, nay even believed, that king William, though their great enemy, was truly and ſincerely diſpoſed to fulfil the articles of the treaty of Limerick, but the ſame catholics muſt here conſider every reſtriction ſince that period impoſed upon them, as infractions of that treaty which the government was bound to obſerve, and alſo a direct invaſion of the rights and liberties granted them under the ſame.

HENCE aroſe numerous contentions and broils, and ſometimes even inſurrections among the populace. People who are ignorant and unlettered, cannot dive into the ſecrets of cabinets, nor comprehend the policy of nations. Such people cannot conceive why they ſhould be reſtricted by government for following the worſhip of their anceſtors, and adhering to a church they have been taught to believe infallible. They beheld the introduction of

of foreigners amongſt them with a jealous eye, and conſidered them as interlopers; they were devoid of the benefits of education; without arts, induſtry, commerce, and manufactures. This being the ſituation of the populace, what can be expected, but that they ſhould be frequently duped and led aſtray by artful and deſigning men, to anſwer their own particular purpoſes.

The ſtate of parties in England, at this period, was ſuch, as completely to have prevented Anne however well inclined ſhe might be, from introducing any meaſure for the real good or advantage of Ireland. She was in a manner beſieged by oppoſite factions; and diſputes had already got ſo high in the Engliſh parliament, that Anne was afraid of introducing any new ſubject of either controverſy or contention for the parliament, where the Whigs and Tories were on moſt occaſions indefatigable in expoſing each other's infamy and folly, to the no ſmall advantage of the public.

It is to be lamented that parties in many of their tranſactions have paid more regard to political than to moral conſiderations; being frequently

frequently obliged to court the populace, they find it expedient to countenace and indulge their caprice and folly, and have even on many occaſions, by the propagation of fiction, and the encouragement of violence, contributed to infatuate, as well as to corrupt the people, under the ſpecious garb of liberty and juſtice. However advantageous the factions of Whig and Tory of that day, might have been to the ſtate, yet they have been extremely injurious to hiſtorical truth, as they have eſtabliſhed many groſs falſhoods, with regard to domeſtic occurrences, which, tho' they exceed the bounds of vulgar credulity, yet, however ſurpriſing, were eagerly embraced by a nation far advanced in civilization. Wherefore extremes of all kinds in parties, ought to be cautiouſly guarded againſt, and though no one will ever pleaſe either faction by moderate opinions, it is thro' their medium alone we are moſt likely to elucidate truth.

The attention of the Engliſh parliament was now accupied in determining the meaſure, which they ſhould purſue, with reſpect to thoſe ruinous continental concerns, in

which the policy of William had involved them, and which Anne was anxious to continue, particularly as ſhe obſerved the hearts of the people now ſet upon them.

It would be endleſs to recount the blood and treaſure expended upon theſe wars and alliances; yet it muſt be owned, that never prince carried them on with more judgment glory and ſucceſs, than Anne did, conſidering the vaſt ſtrength of France at that time, and the temper of the other powers, with whom he had to deal. Yet nothing is more true, than that England has often ſuffered more by her continental connexions, than by her enemies: and this too might here have been the caſe in the reign of Queen Anne, had ſhe not known how to manage, and when covered with the laurels of victory, had attended to the voice of moderation.

A. D. 1703. The Engliſh court was at this time likewiſe employed in the affairs of their ally, the Emperor of Germany; whoſe ſon the Archduke Charles, had aſſumed the title of king of Spain, a diſputed claim

claim between him and Lewis the XIV's grandſon, the former ſupported by Germany England, and Holland, the latter by France, Bavaria, Cologne, Spain and Savoy.

THE Arch-duke Charles, by a propoſed marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, attached that kingdom to his intereſt; by which, together with the forces ſent him by the court of Vienna, he hoped to be able to expel the Elector of Bavaria from his dominions. But this was not ſo eaſily accompliſhed until the arrival of the Duke of Marlborough, the Elector was then obliged to fly before his victorious arms.

THE Iriſh parliament met on the fifth of March, 1705, and voted one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for the ſupport of the neceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment. A diſpute aroſe between the commons and the lower houſe of convocation, a houſe that then exiſted, and was compoſed of the clergy; relative to the tithes of hemp and flax, aſcertained in a clauſe of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of Ireland. The lower houſe of

convocation preſented a memorial againſt this clauſe, as prejudicial to the rights and properties of the clergy. The commons voted the perſon who brought it in, guilty of a breach of privilege, and ordered him to be taken into cuſtody; they then reſolved, that the convocation were guilty of a contempt and breach of privilege of that houſe. The convocation ſtill preſuming to juſtify their memorial, the commons voted, that all matters relating to it ſhould be raſed out of the Journals and books of the convocation.

The Duke of Ormond, apprehenſive of the conſequences of ſuch heats, adjourned the parliament to the firſt day of May, when both houſes having met again, came to ſome reſolutions that reflected obliquely on the convocation, as enemies to her majeſty's government, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The clergy, in order to acquit themſelves of all ſuſpicion, reſolved in their turn, that the church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by king William, at the Revolution; that the continuance of theſe bleſſings were due, under God, to the auſpicious

auſpicious reign and happy government of her majeſty queen Anne: that the future ſecurity and preſervation of the church and nation, depended wholly on the ſucceſſion of the crown, as ſettled by law in the proteſtant line: that if any clergyman ſhould by word or writing, declare any thing in oppoſition to theſe reſolutions, they ſhould look upon him as a promoter of diſſentions among the proſtants, and an enemy to the conſtitution. They levelled another reſolution againſt the preſbyterians, importing, that to teach, or preach againſt the doctrine, government, rites or ceremonies of the church, or to maintain ſchools or ſeminaries for the education of youth, in principles contrary to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, was a contempt of the eccleſiaſtical laws of the nation; of pernicious conſequences to ſociety, and ſerved only to continue and widen the unhappy ſchiſm and diviſions which prevailed in the kingdom.

A. D. 1706. In June the parliament was prorogued to the ſame month of the following year, and the Duke of

of Ormond embarked for England, leaving the adminiſtration in the hands of lords juſtices.

The eyes of Anne were now turned upon a tranſaction of the utmoſt importance to England, namely an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. This famous treaty was finally concluded and ratified on the twenty ſecond of July; in which it was ſtipulated, that the ſucceſſion to the united kingdoms of England and Scotland, under the name of Great Britain, ſhould be veſted in the Princeſs Sophia, youngeſt daughter of the king of Bohemia, by Elizabeth daughter of James I. of England and her heirs. According to the acts already paſſed in the parliament of England, that the united kingdoms ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament, and that all the ſubjects of Great Britain ſhould enjoy an equal participation of privileges and advantages, while Scotland ſhould be repreſented in the parliament of Great Britain, by ſixteen Peers and forty five commoners. This treaty was eagerly courted by the Engliſh Miniſtry, but proved extremely unpalatable to the gentry of the Scottiſh nation.

As

As the trial of Doctor Sacheverel occaſioned no little noiſe at this time, it becomes neceſſary to explain the cauſes of it.

A. D. 1709. On the 13th of December, Mr. Dolben complained to the houſe of commons, of two ſermons preached and publiſhed by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, as containing poſitions contrary to revolutionary principles, to the preſent government, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. Sacheverel was a clergyman of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired ſome popularity among thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the name of high-churchmen, and took all occaſions to vent his ſpleen againſt the Diſſenters. On the fifth of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation defended the doctrine of non-reſiſtance; inveighed againſt the toleration of Diſſenters, declared the church was dangerouſly attacked by her enemies; and ſlightly defended by her falſe friends; he ſounded the trumpet for the church, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God.

Sir

Sir Samuel Garrard, the lord mayor, countenanced this harangue, which was publiſhed under his protection, extolled by the Tories, and diſperſed all over the kingdom. Mr. Dolben's complaint againſt Sacheverel was ſeconded in the houſe of commons by ſeveral members; the moſt violent paragraphs were then read, and the ſermons voted ſcandalous and ſeditious libels. Sacheverel having being brought to the bar of the houſe, acknowledged himſelf the author of both ſermons, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the lord mayor to print that one entitled "The Perils of Falſe Brethren". Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied he had ever given him ſuch encouragement. The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the houſe reſolved he ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors; and Mr. Dolben was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the houſe of lords, in the name of all the commons of England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles, and Sacheverel was taken into cuſtody.

THE doctor being impeached at the bar of the houſe of lords, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refuſed, and the commons ſeemed bent upon proſecuting him with ſuch ſeverity as gave diſguſt to men of moderate principles. Mean while the Tories were not idle. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a deſign to pull down the church; and that this proſecution was intended to try their ſtrength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. Theſe aſſertions were ſupported, and even believed by the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers, while emiſſaries were employed among the populace already prepared with diſcontent, ariſing from a ſcarcity of corn which had prevailed in almoſt every country in Europe.

THE miniſters magnified the dangers to which the church was expoſed, from Diſſenters, Whigs, and lukewarm prelates; and theſe they repreſent as the authors of a deſtructive war, which in a ſhort time would produce univerſal famine. The articles againſt Sacheverel

Sacheverel having being exhibited, his perſon was committed to the deputy uſher of the black rod; but the lords afterwards admitted him to bail.

A. D. 1709. The lords then appointed the 27th of February for his trial in Weſtminſter-hall. The attention of the whole kingdom was directed to this extraordinary trial. It continued three weeks, during which all other buſineſs was ſuſpended; and the queen herſelf was every day preſent, though in quality of a private ſpectator; a vaſt multitude followed him every day to and from Weſtminſter-Hall, praying for his deliverance as if he had been deſtined to martyrdom. The queen's ſedan was beſet by the populace, exclaiming, "God bleſs your majeſty, and the church, we hope your majeſty is for Doctor Sacherverel." They compelled all perſons to lift their hats to the Doctor as he paſſed in his coach to the Temple, where he lodged; and among theſe ſome members of parliament, were abuſed and inſulted. They deſtroyed ſeveral meeting-houſes, plundered the dwellings of eminent Diſſenters; and threatened

threatened to pull down the houſes of the chancellor, and the biſhop of Sarum. Upon this the queen publiſhed a proclamation for ſuppreſſing the tumult, and ſeveral perſons were apprehended, and afterwards tried for high treaſon. When Sacheverel's council had finiſhed his defence, he himſelf recited a ſpeech, wherein he ſolemnly juſtified his attachments to the queen and her government, and ſpoke in moſt reſpectful terms of the revolution, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. He maintained the doctrine of non-reſiſtance in all caſes whatſoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and by many pathetic expreſſions endeavoured to excite the compaſſion of the audience. He was ſurrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was privately favoured by the queen herſelf; who could not but reliſh a doctrine ſo well calculated for the ſupport of regal authority.

After virulent diſputes and altercations, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of 17 voices;

17 voices; and 34 entered a proteſt againſt this deciſion. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years, and his two ſermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in preſence of the lord mayor and two ſheriffs of London and Middleſex.

THE lenity of this ſentence paſſed upon Sacheverel, which was in a great meaſure owing to the apprehenſion of popular reſentment, his friends conſidered, as a victory gained over a Whig faction, and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires and illuminations.

A. D. 1710 THE effects of thoſe intrigues which had been exerted againſt the Whig miniſters began to appear. The trial of Sacheverel, had excited a popular ſpirit of averſion to thoſe who favoured the diſſenters. From all parts addreſſes were preſented to the queen, concerning the doctrine of reſiſtance, as rebellious and founded upon an-timonarchial and republican principles.

At

At the ſame time counter addreſſes were procured by the Whigs, extolling the revolution and applauding the conduct of the preſent parliament.

THE queen began to expreſs her attachment to the Tories, and in a ſhort time there was not one Whig left in any office, except the Duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had he not been earneſtly diſſuaded by his particular friends, from taking a ſtep which would have been prejudicial to the nation. That the triumph of the Tories might be complete, the queen diſſolved the Whig parliament, after ſuch precautions were taken, as could not fail to influence the new elections in favour of the other party. In the Iriſh parliament held, during the ſummer, the Duke of Ormond and the majority of the peers, ſupported the Tory intereſt, while the commons expreſſed the warmeſt attachment to revolution principles.

THE two houſes made ſtrenuous repreſentations, and paſſed ſevere reſolutions againſt each other. After the ſeſſion, Sir Conſtantine Phipps, the chancellor, and general Ingoldſby, were

were appointed juſtices, in the abſence of the Duke of Ormond. For ſome time the Tory miniſters in England, were carrying on a negociation with the court of France: they had a double view in it, namely, to mortify the Whigs and the Dutch, whom they deteſted, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the conſtitution. However the propoſals of peace made by the French king, were diſagreeable even to ſome individuals of the Tory party, and certain peers, who had hitherto adhered to that intereſt, agreed with the Whigs, to make a remonſtrance againſt the preliminary articles.

THE court having been apprized of their intentions, prorogued the parliament till the 7th day of December, in expectation of the Scottiſh peers, who would caſt the balance in favour of the miniſtry. At the opening of the ſeſſion, Anne, in her ſpeech, informed them, that notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a congreſs; and that the ſtates general had expreſſed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared her chief concern

cern should be to secure the succession of the crown, in the House of Hanover; to procure all the advantages to the nation, which a tender and affectionate sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people; and to obtain satisfaction for all her allies. She observed that the most effectual way to procure peace, would be, to make vigorous preparations for carrying on the war. many insinuations were levelled at the duke of Marlborough, amongst others, that he had prolonged the war for the sake of his own private interest alone: upon which occasion he declared on his conscience, that he was ever desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace, and that he was always very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own private emolument, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. Some time after, the commissioners for examining the public accounts, having discovered that the duke of Marlborough had received an annual present of five or six thousand pounds from the contractors, for supplying the army with bread, the queen declared in council, that she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, pre-

paratory to an impartial examination of the charge. This declaration was imparted to the duke in a letter from the queen, in which ſhe took occaſion to complain of the treatment ſhe had received—ſhe probably alluded to the inſolence of his dutcheſs, the ſubjection ſhe had been kept in by the late miniſtry; and the pains earneſtly taken by the Whigs to depreciate her conduct and thwart her meaſures with reſpect to peace. The duke wrote an anſwer to her majeſty, vindicating himſelf againſt the aſperſions on his character.

A. D. 1711. At length a peace was concluded and ratified at Utrecht, greatly to the diſſatisfaction of the Whigs in general, and the Duke of Marlborough in particular, who found his account in the continuance of the war. 'Tis to be lamented, that the diſcovery of many mean and mercenary practices, greatly tarniſhed the glory which the duke had acquired by his great military talents, and other ſhining qualities.

The Duke of Ormond having been appointed to take the command of the Britiſh forces in Flanders

Flanders; The Duke of Shrewſbury was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He aſſembled the Iriſh Parliament on the twenty-fifth day of November, and found the two houſes ſtill at variance on the oppoſite principles of Whig and Tory. Allen Broderick being choſen ſpeaker of the commons, they ordered a bill to be brought in to attaint the Pretender and all his adherents. They proſecuted Edward Lloyd, for publiſhing a book intitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier De St. George;" and they agreed upon an addreſs to the queen, to remove from the chancellorſhip Sir Conſtantine Phipps, for the countenance he had ſhewn the Tories. The lords however had reſolved, that Chancellor Phipps, in his ſeveral ſtations, had acquitted himſelf with honour and integrity. The two houſes of convocation preſented an addreſs to the ſame effect.

A. D. 1712. THE Duke of Shrewſbury received orders to prorogue this parliament which was divided againſt itſelf, and portended nothing but domeſtic broils, then he obtained leave to return to England

leaving Chancellor Phipps with the archbiſhop of Armagh and Tuam, Juſtices of the kingdom. In this reign Dr. Jonathan Swift roſe into great conſideration in Ireland, and by his great abilities and patriotic principles became the chief patron of the Iriſh nation.

On the firſt day of Auguſt, 1714, died Anne queen of England in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. Her capacity was naturally good; but not much cultivated by learning; nor did ſhe exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius, nor of perſonal ambition. She was undoubtedly deficient in that vigour of mind neceſſary to enable her to ſupport herſelf independent of the influence of favourites and to avoid the ſnares and fetters of ſycophants: but whatever her weakneſs in theſe reſpects might have been, the goodneſs of her heart was never doubted. She was juſtly diſtinguiſhed for conjugal affection and fidelity, ſhe was a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent miſtreſs, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful princeſs, during whoſe reign no ſubject's blood was ſhed for treaſon. She was firmly attached to the

the Church of England from conviction rather than from prepoſſeſſion, being unaffectedly pious, juſt, charitable and compaſſionate. If ſhe was not the greateſt, ſhe was certainly one of the beſt and moſt unblemiſhed of ſovereigns; and well merited the expreſſive, though ſimple epithet of "the good queen Anne."

CHAP. VI.

Acceſſion of George I.—Tories totally excluded the Royal Favour—Pretender's Manifeſto—Reſolutions to impeach the Duke of Ormond—The Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke attainted.—Intended Invaſion by the Duke of Ormond—The Rebellion in Scotland under the Earl of Mar—Bill for ſecuring the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great-Britain.—Declaration of the Pretender.—Clamour in Ireland on Account of Woods's Coinage—Death of George I.—His Character—Acceſſion of George II.—Characters of his Miniſtry—Character of Sir Robert Walpole—He propoſes the Exciſe Scheme.

A. D. 1714. THE queen had no ſooner expired, than orders were immediately iſſued to proclaim for king, in England, Scotland and Ireland, George, Elector of Hanover. The regency appointed the Earl of Dorſet, to convey to the king at Hanover the intimation of his majeſty's acceſſion, and to attend him on his journey.

GEORGE

GEORGE I. aſcended the throne in the fifty-fifth year of his age, without the leaſt oppoſition, tumult or indication of popular diſcontent; and the unprejudiced part of the nation was now fully perſuaded that no deſign was ever concerted by queen Anne and her miniſtry in favour of the Pretender. On the twentieth of September, 1714, king George landed at Greenwich. From the landing place to his houſe in St. James's park, he walked, accompanied by a great many of the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction, who had the honour to kiſs his hand, as they approached. At night he ſent for thoſe of the nobility who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for his ſucceſſion: but the duke of Ormond, Oxford, the lord chancellor and lord Trevor were not of the number. The next morning the earl of Oxford preſented himſelf, but was very coldly received; on the other hand, his majeſty expreſſed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

IT was the misfortune of this prince, as well as a great injury to the empire, that he had been

been led to conceive ſtrong prejudices againſt the Tories, who conſtituted ſuch a conſiderable body of his ſubjects.

They were now excluded from all ſhare of the royal favour, which was totally engroſſed by their opponents: theſe early marks of his averſion, which he took no pains to conceal, alienated the affections of many from his government and perſon, who otherwiſe would have ſerved him with fidelity and regard. The duke of Ormond was inſtantly diſmiſſed from his command, which was reſtored to the Duke of Marlborough, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland.

An almoſt inſtantaneous change was effected in all the official departments of the ſtate. In a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs. On the twentieth of October, George I. was crowned at Weſtminſter, with the uſual ſolemnity, at which the Earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke aſſiſted. In the mean time, the malcontents were conſiderably encreaſed in England by the king's attachment to the Whig faction

faction. The old clamour reſpecting the danger of the church was revived; jealouſies were excited, ſeditious libels were diſperſed; and dangerous tumults raiſed in different parts of the kingdom. Many gentlemen of the Whig faction were abuſed; magiſtrates were reviled and inſulted by the populace in the execution of their office. The Pretender ſeized this opportunity to tranſmit by the French mail, copies of a printed manifeſto to the Dukes of Shrewſbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the firſt diſtinction. In this declaration, he mentioned the good intentions of his ſiſter towards him, which were prevented by her lamented death. He obſerved that his people inſtead of doing him and themſelves juſtice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and inconteſtible laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of ſettlement could never abrogate. Shortly after, the parliament reſolved to trace out thoſe meaſures which had been taken in England by the Pretender's adherents, and whereon he built his hopes; and to bring the author's of them to condign puniſhment.

On

A. D. 1715. On the twenty firſt of June, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope, impeached James Duke of Ormond, of high treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanours with regard to the peace at Utrecht. Many members ſpoke in favour of the Duke; they expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications; they enumerated the ſervices performed by him for the crown and the nation, they obſerved that in the whole courſe of his late conduct, he had only obeyed the queen's commands; and they affirmed that all the allegations againſt him, could not in the rigour of the law, be conſtrued into high-treaſon. But all arguments and eloquence were loſt upon the Whigs, and the queſtion being put was carried for the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond, who perceiving every thing conducted by a furious ſpirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, conſulted his own ſafety, by withdrawing himſelf from the kingdom.

Shortly after a bill paſſed both houſes of the Britiſh Parliament, and received the royal aſſent for attainting the Duke of Ormond and Lord

Lord Bollingbroke if they did not ſurrender themſelves in a limited time; and they having omitted to ſurrender purſuant to the time ſpecified in the bill; the houſe of lords ordered the Earl Marſhal to raſe out of the liſt of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their perſonal eſtates; and the Duke's atchievment, as knight of the garter, was taken down from St. George's Chapel at Windſor.

A MAN of ſenſibility and candour cannot, without an emotion of ſorrow and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the perſon of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman; to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the commands of his ſovereign. The duke of Ormond, and lord Bolingbroke retired into France and were driven by hard uſage, and reſentment into a ſyſtem of politics which otherwiſe they would not have eſpouſed.

FINDING themſelves condemned unheard, and attainted, they engaged in the ſervice of the Pretender, and correſponded with the Tories of England.

THE

A. D. 1715 THE Tories of Great Britain being totally excluded from any ſhare in the government and legiſlature, and expoſed to the inſolence and fury of a faction which they deſpiſed, began now to wiſh in earneſt for a revolution. Some of them held private conſultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their ſentiments to the Chevalier De St. George, with ſuch exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerneſs and extravagance. They aſſured the Pretender that the nation was entirely diſaffected to the new government; and indeed the clamours, tumults and converſation of the people in general countenanced this aſſertion. They promiſed to take arms without farther delay in his favour; and engaged that the Tories ſhould join them at his firſt landing in Great Britain. They therefore beſought him to come over with all poſſible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution,

THE Chevalier reſolved to take advantage of this favourable diſpoſition; and made preparations accordingly. However all theſe intrigues

trignes and machinations were diſcovered and communicated to the Britiſh Court, by the Earl of Stair, who then reſided as Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris. He detected the Chevalier's ſcheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave ſuch early intimation of it, as enabled King George to take effectual meaſures for defeating the deſign. But the partizans of the Pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with ſafety; and therefore determined to try their fortune in the field. Having choſen Scotland for the ſcene of action, they aſſembled there, under the command of the Earl of Mar, and after proclaiming the Pretender in that kingdom, they erected his ſtandard on the ſixth of September.

In the ninth of October the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forſter took the field in England and proclaimed the Pretender. But Forſter was ſurrounded at Preſton and taken by ſurprize. The day on which the rebels ſurrendered at Preſton in England was remarkable for the battle of Dunblaine in Scotland, fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar, who commanded the Pretender's

der's forces. The earl of Mar would have probably obtained the victory, had not his troops been two eager in the purſuit of that part of the royal army, which they had broken; but on this account it proved a drawn battle, and the Highlanders ſeeing no probability of coming again to action, ſoon after diſperſed and returned to their own habitations. Afterwards the Pretender came over to Scotland, from whence he was repulſed by the Duke of Argyle, and at laſt effected his eſcape to the continent in a ſmall French veſſel accompanied by the Earl of Mar, and many more of his adherents. In the mean time, the gaols in Great Britain were filled with ſuch of his party, as had been apprehended. The Earls of Derwentwater, Kenmure and Wintoun were beheaded on Tower Hill, and many of inferior rank were executed at Tyburn. But Forſter and many others made their eſcape from Newgate, and ſaved themſelves by flight from an ignominious and diſgraceful end.

THE

A. D. 1715. THE Duke of Ormond had previouſly made an unſucceſsful and fruitleſs attempt in the weſt of England in favour of the Chevalier. Thus terminated a rebellion which proved fatal to many noble families; a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent meaſures of a Whig miniſtry kindled ſuch a flame of diſcontent as encouraged the partiſans of the Pretender to hazard a revolt. During all this time we hear of no commotion nor inſurrection in Ireland.

THE parliament of Ireland met on the 12th of November, and ſeemed even more zealous if poſſible, than that of England for the preſent adminiſtration. They paſſed bills for recognizing the king's title; for the ſecurity of his perſon and government; for ſetting a price on the Pretender's head; and for attainting the Duke of Ormond. They granted the ſupplies without oppoſition. All thoſe of the Tory party who had addreſſed the late queen in favour of Sir Conſtantine Phipps, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, whom

whom the Whigs wiſhed to turn out, were now brought on their knees and cenſured as guilty of a breach of privilege.

A. D. 1715. THEY deſired the lords juſtices would iſſue a proclamation againſt the catholic inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who in virtue of the capitulation ſigned by king William, claimed an exemption from the penalties impoſed upon other papiſts. They engaged in an aſſociation againſt the pretender and all his abettors.

THEY voted the Earl of Angleſey an enemy to the king and kingdom, becauſe he adviſed the queen to diſband the army, and to prorogue the late parliament; and they addreſſed the king to remove him from his council and ſervice.

THE lords juſtices granted orders for apprehending the Earls of Antrim and Weſtmeath, and the Lords Netterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as perſons ſuſpected of diſaffection to his majeſty's perſon and government. There ſeemed to be no cauſe for ſuch ſeverity at the time

time, for although Great Britain was embroiled, Ireland actually enjoyed peace and tranquility. But this was a period when blind zeal and the ſpirit of party raged uncontrouled, and when men's minds were full of fear and jealouſies; when a beloved ſovereign had deſcended to the ſhades, and the crown appeared to totter on the head of her ſucceſſor. However theſe conſiderations by no means warranted the violation of the treaty of Limerick, nor many other tranſactions of a ſimilar kind which took place during this reign. Yet our wonder ceaſes, when we reflect that this was a criſis in which juſtice and equity were little regarded and the ſolemn faith of nation was audaciouſly and wantonly violated condemned.

Amongst theſe diſputed convulſions, the Engliſh parliament paſſed an act for attaching the dependency of Ireland upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, and this act, known by the name of the ſixth of George I. was made, for the purpoſe of enabling the Britiſh parliament to make laws to bind the people of Ireland, an act derogatory to the true honour of Great Britain as it was injurious to this

kingdom, as a free and independent nation. This unjuſt law, was followed by another tranſaction of a ſimilar tyrannic caſt, by which Great Britain robbed[1] our houſe of lords of the right of appeal from our courts of judicature. It was effected at the inſtance of Maurice Anneſley an Iriſh gentleman, who had appealed to the houſe of peers in England, from a decree of the houſe of peers in Ireland, which the Britiſh peers reverſed, and ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland, to put Mr. Anneſley in poſſeſſion of the lands he had been deprived of by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order, and the Iriſh houſe of Lords paſſed a vote againſt the barons, as having acted in derogation to the king's prerogative, in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as alſo of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the parliament thereof; they likewiſe ordered the barons to be taken into cuſtody of the uſher of the black rod; they tranſmitted a long repreſentation to the king, demonſtrating their right to the final judicature in this kingdom, and the Duke of Leeds ſtrenuouſly ſupported their cauſe by unanſwerable arguments in the Britiſh houſe of lords.

Not-

A. D. 1719. NOTWITHSTANDING theſe arguments, the houſe of lords in England reſolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, alſo conformable to law in ſupport of his majeſty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain.

THEY addreſſed the king to confer on them ſome marks of his royal favour, as a recompence for the ill uſage they had undergone. At length they propoſed a bill, by which the Iriſh houſe of lords was deprived of all right to paſs ſentence, affirm, or reverſe any judgment or decree, given or made in any court within that kingdom. In the houſe of commons it was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt and others, on the grounds of being a palpable infringement on the rights of the Iriſh peers and a direct violation of the conſtitution of Ireland. However the bill was carried and received the royal aſſent. This perhaps was as great and daring an act of uſurpation and injuſtice as ever was attempted, in any the moſt arbitrary and deſpotic reign, and cannot be defended by the boldeſt advocate for oppreſſion, on any

principle ſave, only that tyrannic one, *that power conſtitutes right.*—On the opening of the Engliſh parliament in October, 1722, the king obſerved, that the adherents of the Pretender, were once more determined to attempt the ſubverſion of his government. He expatiated upon the mildneſs and integrity of his own government, and inveighed againſt the ingratitude, implacability, and madneſs of the diſaffected; concluding with an aſſurance, that he would ſteadily adhere to the conſtition in church and ſtate, and continue to make the laws of the realm, the rule and meaſure of all his actions. Such addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, as the fears and attachment of the majority, may be ſuppoſed to have dictated on ſuch occaſion. A bill was brought into the houſe of lords, for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus act for a whole year; but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to ſuch an unuſual length of time.

A. D. 1722. By this ſuſpenſion, the Engliſh peers in effect inveſted the miniſtry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the nation. The oppoſition to this

this bill in the houſe of commons was ſo violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it neceſſary to alarm their apprehenſions by a dreadful ſtory of a deſign to ſeize the bank and exchequer, and to proclaim the Pretender on the royal exchange. Their paſſions having been inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, the commons paſſed the bill, which immediately received the royal aſſent. On the ſixteenth day of November, his Majeſty ſent to the houſe of lords, the original printed copy of a declaration, ſigned by the Pretender—It was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth of September, in the preſent year, and appeared to be a propoſal addreſſed to the ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and ſtates.

A. D. 1722. In this paper, the Chevalier having mentioned the late violation of the freedom of elections; conſpiracies invented to give a colour to new oppreſſion; infamous informers; and the ſtate of proſcription in which he reaſonably preſumed every honeſt man to be; very gravely propoſed, that if King George would relinquiſh

to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return, confer upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and ſolicit all other ſtates to confirm it: the Chevalier likewiſe promiſed to leave king George his ſucceſſion to the Britiſh dominions ſecure, whenever in due courſe his natural right ſhould take place. Both houſes unanimouſly reſolved that this declaration was a falſe, inſolent, and traiterous libel: and aſſured his majeſty they were determined to ſupport his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes.

THE commons prepared a bill for raiſing one hundred thouſand pounds a year, upon the real and perſonal eſtates of all papiſts, or perſons educated in the popiſh religion, towards defraying the expences occaſioned by the late rebellion and diſorder. It paſſed the upper houſe of parliament without amendment, and was ſtamped with the royal ſanction. This bill muſt evidently appear in the eyes of all moderate men to be a ſpecies of perſecution, and on that principle was oppoſed by many members of the houſe of peers.

KING

KING George concluded treaties with almoſt every prince and ſtate in Europe, and they ſucceeded each other ſo rapidly, and appeared at firſt view ſo intricate and difficult, that they can only be accounted for on theſe principles, namely, that of aſcertaining his acquiſitions as Elector of Hanover, and his reſolution to ſecure himſelf againſt the diſaffection of his Britiſh ſubjects, as well as the efforts of the Pretender. Great Britain at this period enjoyed profound tranquillity.

IRELAND was a little ruffled by an incident which ſeemed to have been miſrepreſented to the Iriſh. William Wood had obtained a patent for furniſhing Ireland with Copper currency, in which it was reported to have been deficient. A great clamour was raiſed againſt this coin.

The Iriſh parliament which met in September, reſolved, that it would be prejudicial to the revenue, deſtructive of trade, and of dangerous conſequence to the rights of the ſubject: that the patent had been granted on miſrepreſentation; that the halfpence would be found deficient

deficient in weight: that even if the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a great loſs to the nation; that granting the power of coinage to a private perſon, had ever been prejudicial to the kingdom, and would at all times be of dangerous conſequence. Addreſſes from both houſes were preſented to the king on this ſubject. The affair was referred to the lords of the privy council in England; they juſtified the conduct of the patentee, upon the report of Sir Iſaac Newton, and other officers of the mint, who made the aſſay of Wood's halfpence, and found he had complied with the terms of the patent. They declared that this currency exceeded in quality and quantity, all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of king Charles II.—James II.—and William and Mary.

A. D: 1723. The privy council, likewiſe, demonſtrated, that his majeſty's predeceſſors, had always exerciſed the undoubted prerogative of granting patents in Ireland to private perſons; that none of theſe

theſe patents had been ſo beneficial to the kingdom, as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney and ſolicitor general, and after Sir Iſaac Newton had been conſulted in every particular: finally, they proved by a number of witneſſes, that there was a real want of ſuch money in Ireland. Notwithſtanding this deciſion, the ferment was kept up in Ireland, particularly by the writings of the celebrated Dean Swift, and ſome other authors—So that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage, from the value of one hundred thouſand, to that of forty thouſand pounds. Thus, the noiſe was ſilenced. The commons of Ireland at this time, paſſed an act for accepting the affirmation of the quakers inſtead of an oath; and voted three hundred and forty thouſand pounds, towards diſcharging the debts of the nation, which amounted to about double that ſum.

To put the public debts of the nation into a method of being ſpeedily and gradually paid, has been the repeated theory of patriotiſm,

iſm, but unhappily for the ſubjects has never been reduced to practice. Ireland at this time was quite barren of ſuch events, as deſerve a place in hiſtory. The government was firmly eſtabliſhed, and peace and tranquillity perfectly reſtored.

A. D. 1724 GEORGE the I. after a reign of near thirteen years, was ſeized with a paralytic diſorder on the road to Hanover; he loſt the faculty of ſpeech, became lethargic, and was conveyed in a ſtate of inſenſibility to Oſnabruck. There he expired on Sunday the 11th of June in the year 1727, in the ſixty eighth year of his age.

GEORGE the I. was plain and ſimple in his perſon and addreſs; grave and compoſed in his deportment, though eaſy, familiar and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he aſcended the throne of Great Britain he had acquired a character of a good general, and a wiſe prince, who perfectly underſtood and ſteadily purſued his own intereſt. With theſe qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well diſpoſed to govern

govern his new ſubjects according to the maxims of the Britiſh conſtitution and the genius of the people; and whenever he deviated from theſe principles, we may take it for granted that he was miſled by the venal ſuggeſtions of a miniſtry, whoſe power and influence were founded on corruption. For whenever the miniſtry wanted to carry any meaſure, they rang the changes upon a few words, that have been repeated ever ſince like cabaliſtical ſounds, by which the nation was enchanted into a dangerous connexion with the concerns of the continent. They harangued, they inſiſted upon the machinations of the diſaffected, the deſigns of a popiſh Pretender, the Proteſtant intereſt, and the balance of power, until theſe expreſſions became abſolutely terms of ridicule with every man of common ſenſe and reflection.

A. D. 1727, GEORGE the I. was too partial to a particular party among his ſubjects, and treated another with ſuch ſeverity as occaſioned him many troubles, and

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was the cauſe of this reign having been ſtained by ſome ſcenes of blood which were unknown to that of Queen Anne. In the reign of George the I. the commerce of England flouriſhed even under a load of grievous impoſition. But the manufactures of Ireland, particularly the woollen, were verging to decay, owing to that monopolizng diſpoſition, which has been ſo apparent, in the conduct of the ſiſter country, on too many occaſions. The linen manufacture indeed, in the North of Ireland, was encreaſing rapidly; and the more ſo, as it did not interfere with any ſimilar manufacture in Great Britain. For it is a truth that, candour requires ſhould be declared, that the ſelfiſh policy, the illiberal and narrow principles of the commercial intereſts of the ſiſter nation, had depreſſed two long, the trade commerce and manufactures of Ireland.

From the death of Charles II. to that of George I. conſiderable improvements took place in every branch of literature. Doctors Atterbury and Clarke diſtinguiſhed themſelves in divinity. John Locke ſhone forth the great reſtorer

reſtorer of human reaſon. The Earl of Shaftſbury raiſed an elegant, though feeble, ſyſtem of moral philoſophy. Berkely Lord biſhop of Cloyne, exceeded all his contemporaries in ſubtlety and variety of metaphyſical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction. Wallis, Halley, and Flamſtead made great progreſs in the mathematics and aſtronomy. But in thoſe ſciences Sir Iſaac Newton eclipſed them all.

WILLIAM CONGREVE diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his comedies, which are not ſo famous for ſtrength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance and regularity. Steele in his comedies ſucceſsfully engrafted modern characters on the ancient drama. Farquhar drew his pictures from fancy, rather than from nature, and his merit chiefly conſiſts in the agreeable pertneſs and vivacity of his dialogue. The fame of Addiſon as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate, but he yielded to none in the character of an eſſayiſt either for ſtyle or matter. Swift whoſe muſe ſeems to have been mere miſantrophy, was a cynic rather than a poet, and his natural dryneſs and ſarcaſtic

caſtic ſeverity would have been diſagreeable, had he not qualified them by adopting the extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais. Prior was lively, familiar and amuſing. Rowe was ſolemn florid and declamatory. Pope was the prince of lyric poetry, he was unrivalled in ſatire, ethics, and poliſhed verſification. Parnell was agreeable. Garth wild witty and whimſical. Gay's fables may vie with thoſe of La Fontaine, in native humour, eaſe, and ſimplicity; his genius for paſtoral was truly original. Doctor Bentley ſtood foremoſt in the liſt of critics and commentators. The moſt remarkable political writers were, Davenant, Hore, Molineaux, Swift, Steele, Addiſon, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.

It is to be lamented that princes in general are ſo careleſs in their temper, or ſo little endowed with the virtue of liberality, that they have allowed many authors of virtue and probity, to live in obſcurity and die in want, and men of the greateſt merit, aided by the moſt powerful abilities and genius, have been neceſſitated to write for bread. Craving courtiers, paraſites and ſycophants ſurround princes

ces and courts, and engroſs that expence, which would be much better beſtowed on the encouragement of literary merit.

Lewis XIV. conferred penſions on learned men throughout all Europe; his academies were directed by rules and ſupported by ſalaries. A generoſity which does great honour to his memory, and in the eyes of all the ingenious part of mankind will be eſteemed an atonement for many of the errors of his reign. We may be ſurpriſed, that this example ſhould not be more followed by princes; ſince it is certain that this bounty ſo extenſive, ſo beneficial, and ſo much celebrated, coſt not that monarch ſo great a ſum as is often conferred on one ſingle, uſeleſs overgrown favourite or courtier.

A. D. 1727. At the acceſſion of George the Second, the Engliſh nation had great cauſe to wiſh for an alteration of meaſures. The public debt, notwithſtanding the boaſted oeconomy and management of the miniſters, was now increaſed to fifty millions, two hundred and ſixty one thouſand,

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two hundred and ſix pounds. The nation was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it ſtood engaged to pay ſubſidies to many continental powers, with whom its real intereſt could never be connected.

THE wealth of the nation had been laviſhed upon theſe foreign connexions; upon unneceſſary wars, and unſucceſsful expeditions. Dangerous encroachments had been made upon the conſtitution; by the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments; by frequent ſuſpenſions of the *habeas corpus* act, upon frivolous occaſions; by repealing clauſes in the act of ſettlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a ſtanding army; and above all, by eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of corruption, which at all times would ſecure a majority in parliament. The nature of prerogative was now ſo well underſtood, and ſo ſecurely limited and reſtrained, that it could no longer be uſed for the ſame oppreſſive purpoſes as formerly; and an avowed extenſion of the prerogative was too bold a meaſure for either the courage

or

or reſolution of the preſent miniſtry to exert. They knew their own ſtrength, and had recourſe to a more certain and effectual expedient.

The vice, luxury, and proſtitution of the age; the almoſt total extinction of ſentiment, honour, and public ſpirit; had prepared the minds of men for ſlavery and corruption: The means were in the hands of the miniſtry; the public treaſure was at their devotion; they multiplied places and penſions to encreaſe the number of their creatures: they laviſhed the money of the nation without taſte, diſcernment, decency, or remorſe; they inliſted an army of the moſt abandoned mercenaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worſt meaſures, in the face of truth, common ſenſe, and common honeſty: and they did not fail to ſtigmatize as Jacobites and enemies to the government, all thoſe who preſumed to queſtion the merit of their adminiſtration.

An expreſs arriving on the fourteenth of June, with an account of the king's death,

King George, the Second, repaired from Richmond, where he received this intelligence, to Leiceſter-houſe; and the members of the privy council being aſſembled, were ſworn anew. His majeſty declared his firm determination to maintain and preſerve the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and to cultivate thoſe alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. On the next day he was proclaimed king of Great Britain. All the great officers of ſtate continued in their places. Sir Robert Walpole, kept poſſeſſion of the treaſury, and the ſyſtem of politics, which the late king had eſtabliſhed, underwent no ſort of alteration. Ireland at the commencement of this reign found herſelf happy under the government of Lord Carteret. The parliament that aſſembled in the month of September, 1729, approved themſelves the fathers of their country; for in ſome time after this ſeſſion, which was both conducted and concluded with ſo much harmony and patriotiſm, they eſtabliſhed funds for the diſcharge of the public debts, and for ſupporting the expences of government: they enacted ſalutary laws, for the encouragement

encouragement of manufactures, trade and agriculture; they alſo formed many wiſe regulations in different branches of civil oeconomy. Lord Carter et returned to Great Britain; and was ſucceededby the Duke of Dorſet. Lord Carteret, by a mild and moderate government, made the Iriſh happy and contented; he checked and reſtrained the moſt deſigning and artful part of the nation, and ſoothed the moſt violent. He controled prodigality, and encouraged induſtry; he promoted the commerce, and gave ſpirit to the drooping manufactures of the country; he was frugal of the public money and hoſtile to venality and corruption. By ſuch conduct, Lord Carteret, has tranſmitted to poſterity, in the faithful regiſter of Iriſh gratitude, a name that muſt be revered for its wiſdom, its virtue, and its philanthropy. The adminiſtration of Lord Carteret, proves that a chief governor of Ireland, may at the ſame time ſerve and promote the intereſt of the crown, and conciliate the affections and eſteem of the people.

A. D. 1729 THE hiſtory of Ireland, for ſome time ſubſequent to this period, is no way intereſting nor remarkable for events of any great moment or importance; while Great Britain was engaged in an annual revolution of debates in parliament, debates in which the ſame arguments perpetually recur on the ſame ſubjects. At this period, the interior government of Great Britain was conducted by Sir Robert Walpole, a man of extraordinary talents, who from low beginnings, raiſed himſelf to the head of the treaſury. He was endowed with a ſpecies of eloquence, which, though neither nervous nor elegant, flowed with great facility, and was ſo plauſible on all ſubjects, that even when he miſrepreſented the truth, whether from ignorance or deſign; he rarely failed to perſuade that part of his audience, for whoſe hearing his ſpeech was particularly intended. He was an avowed enemy to the Tory party. He was moreover intimately acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and well underſtood the whole myſtery of ſtock jobbing. This knowledge produced a connexion

nexion between him and the money-corporations, which ſerved to enhance his importance.

A. D. 1732. He perceived the bulk of mankind was attached by a fordid thirſt of lucre, and he had ſagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage and emolument; and on this, and this alone, he founded the entire ſuperſtructure of his adminiſtration. His influence was ſuch, that all objections vaniſhed before his unbounded power, which nothing but the immediate danger of popular commotion could poſſibly check.

Such interpoſition once actually defeated the famous exciſe ſcheme, which had been vigorouſly adopted by Walpole. The exciſe ſyſtem Walpole introduced on the principle of preventing numerous frauds and perjuries, whereby the public revenue was very conſiderably injured, and the fair trader ruined. But the meaſure of a general exciſe was oppoſed, on the grounds that it would prove deſtructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject. It was wiſely

wiſely ſuggeſted, that it would be productive of a ſwarm of exciſe officers, appointed and payed by the crown, conſequently dependent on it, and by which it would ſtill be enabled to make further ſtrides in influencing the freedom of elections. Had Walpole on this occaſion nothing to encounter, but the oppoſition within doors, he would have undoubtedly carried his ſcheme into effect; but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly againſt the bill. The populace blocked up all the avenues to the houſe of commons, and even inſulted the perſons of thoſe members who were known to favour the exciſe ſcheme. Sir Robert Walpole at length began to be in fear of his life, and poſtponed the bill. The miſcarriage of this bill was celebrated with public rejoicings, in London and Weſtminſter; and the miniſter was burnt in effigy by the populace. The ſubject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities of both ſides of the houſe to the moſt powerful exertions, was a bill introduced for the repeal of the Septennial Act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliament. It was aſſerted that the ſeptennial law, was an encroachment

encroachment on the rights of the people; a law paſſed by a parliament that made itſelf ſeptennial.

A. D. 1733. The miniſtry challenged the oppoſition to produce one inſtance in which the leaſt encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people ſince the ſeptennial act took place: and they defied the moſt ingenious and refined malice to prove, that his preſent majeſty had ever attempted to extend the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. On the other ſide, it was maintained, that the law relative to treaſon was materially changed ſince that period; that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the county where the crimes were alledged to have been committed; but by an act of a ſeptennial parliament he might be removed and tried any where that either the crown or miniſter pleaſed. It was aſked if the riot act had not been an encroachment on the rights of the people. An act by which a little inſignificant juſtice of the peace, the meaneſt and vileſt tool a miniſter can uſe, who perhaps ſubſiſts by his being in the

the commiſſion, and may be deprived of that ſubſiſtence at the pleaſure of his patron, had it in his power to put a number of the beſt ſubjects in the kingdom to death, without any trial or form, but that of reading a proclamation. However, notwithſtanding the moſt warm, the moſt nervous and the moſt pathetic ſtrains of eloquence in favour of the bill, it was ſuppreſſed by a corrupt majority of Walpole's creatures.

In the ſeſſion of 1735, a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons of Ireland, by Benjamin Copland and others, on behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the farmers, graziers of Ireland, ſetting forth, "that ſeveral "of the petitioners have been of late, and "now are, ſued for the tithes of the agiſtment "of dry and barren cattle, notwithſtanding "that according to the beſt information they "have had, no ſuch tithes have been ever "paid, or even demanded in this kingdom "until a few years ſince, and praying relief "therein."

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A committee of thirty ſeven members was then appointed to examine the allegations of the ſaid petition, and to report their proceedings and opinion thereon. The committee reſolved, that the petitioners had proved the allegations of their petition, to the ſatisfaction of the committee. The houſe accordingly ordered, that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill for aſcertaining the tithe of herbage, or agiſtment of dry and barren cattle in Ireland, and ſettling the methods of recovering the ſame. By this it fully appears, that it was the decided ſenſe of the houſe of commons, that the tithe of agiſtment was a legal and exiſting part of the property of the clergy of Ireland at that period. We have not been able to diſcover whether any ſuch heads of a bill were introduced; but certain it is, no ſuch bill paſſed. However the oppoſers of the clergy ſeemed aware, that the petition and order above recited were rather too favourable to their claim of agiſtment tithe, and probably declined to bring in the bill, which, according to the tenor of the order, would have recognized the title of the clergy.

THE enemies of the agiſtment tithe took new ground for their attack, and on the fifth of March, 1735, a petition of Samuel Law, and other gentlemen and landholders of the county of Meath, was preſented to the houſe, ſetting forth, "that the clergy in the ſeveral "parts where the petitioners dwell, have com- "menced and threaten to commence ſuits for "*a new kind of tithe*, under the name of agiſt- "ment of dry and barren cattle grievous "to the petitioners and praying relief." On this petition a committee of thirty ſeven members was appointed, and on the 17th of March, the report of the committee and their reſolutions thereon were laid before the houſe. The reſolution was as follows: "reſolved, that the petitioners have fully proved the allegations of their petition, to the ſatisfaction of the committee, and deſerve the ſtrongeſt aſſiſtance the houſe can give them."

THE houſe agreed to this reſolution and reſolved, that the allotments, glebes, and known tithes, with other eccleſiaſtical emoluments, aſcertained before this new (which they ignorantly called ſo) demand of tithe of agiſtment

ment for dry and barren cattle, are an honourable and plentiful proviſion for the clergy of Ireland.

It was alſo reſolved, that the demand of the tithe of agiſtment, was grievous and burthenſome to both landlords and tenants. And a motion was put and carried, that the commencing ſuits upon theſe demands, muſt impair the proteſtant intereſt, by driving many uſeful hands out of the kingdom, and occaſion popery and infidelity to gain ground by the conteſts which would neceſſarily ariſe between the laity and clergy. This buſineſs was then concluded by this reſolution. "Reſolved, "that all legal ways and means ought to be "made uſe of, to oppoſe all attempts that ſhall "hereafter be framed to carry demands of "agiſtment tithe into execution, until a proper "remedy can be provided by the legiſlature."

It ſurely was an extraordinary doctrine, to call the tythe of agiſtment a new demand, as nothing can be more certain, or better eſtabliſhed in law, than that the tithe of agiſtment is due by the common law, as indiſputably

as

as the tithe of hay or corn. Corrupt as thoſe days were, the members muſt have known that an expreſſed opinion of that houſe could not change the laws of the land, or deprive a whole body of men, an integral part of the ſtate, of their legal property. If it were not their property, the courts of juſtice would ſoon pronounce the law againſt them. The clergy were intimidated by this reſolution from a proſecution of their juſt rights, as no clergyman has been found bold enough, to give the law of the land an opportunity of ſtruggling with an half expreſſed opinion of one houſe of parliament. As the reſolution is not grounded on law, let us examine if it was founded on found policy, or on the real intereſts of the country.

No man who has read a page in hiſtory, and who has looked round him, and contemplated the habits, arts, and manners of the living world, can for an inſtant entertain a doubt but tillage is preferable to paſturage, a mode of occupying the ſoil, which enriches the few and ſtarves the many, which converts the moſt delightful plains of Ireland, into ſilent forlorn, and

and deſolate waſte; which nips population, induſtry and national proſperity in the bud, by preventing the means of earning an honeſt ſubſiſtence by uſeful labour. Paſturage, when too far extended, neceſſarily produces all theſe evils.

Thus, by this impolitic reſolution, the ſubſiſtence of the clergy was in future to be confined to that ſpecies of land which ought leaſt to be burthened, and to that claſs of people, which in ſound policy, ſhould be moſt effectually encouraged and ſupported. Thus a bounty was granted to extend the propagation of a national evil, while the real cultivator of the ſoil ſhould repine at an incumbrance, though ſanctioned by law, from which intrigue, influence, and the ſelfiſhneſs of intereſted men in power, had relieved his indolent and deſolating neighbours.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

Violent debate on the Motion, introduced into the Britiſh Parliament, for a Settlement on the Prince of Wales—Rebellion exited by the young Pretender—His total defeat by the Duke of Cumberland—Peace of Aix la Chapelle—Death of the Prince of Wales—An Act for changing the old Style—Diſputes in the Iriſh Parliament—Earthquake at Liſbon—Death of Admiral Byng—Attempt of Damien on the French King—Proceedings in Ireland—The Reſolutions of the Iriſh Parliament—Thurot's Deſign of landing in Ireland fruſtrated.

A. D. 1736. IN the Britiſh Parliament Mr. Pulteney introduced a motion, for to addreſs his majeſty to ſettle one hundred thouſand pounds a year, on the Prince of Wales. He repreſented that ſuch a ſettlement was both reaſonable and neceſſary, to maintain the independency of the heir apparent to the crown, and that a ſimilar one had been enjoyed by his preſent majeſty, during the life of his father.

THIS

THIS motion was the ſubject of no ſmall contention; and was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermeddling in the king's affairs, and as an effort to ſet his majeſty and the prince at variance. But a miſunderſtanding had already taken place in the royal family.

WALPOLE informed the houſe, that his majeſty, in order to prevent any bad conſequences that might reſult from any undutiful meaſure, the prince might be adviſed to purſue; would ſettle a ſuitable jointure on the Princeſs of Wales; and that in order to render the prince's allowance of fifty thouſand pounds a year, leſs precarious, he would grant to the Prince of Wales, the ſaid fifty thouſand pounds a year during his own life, excluſive of the prince's revenues ariſing from the duchy of Cornwall. Walpole endeavoured to demonſtrate that this proviſion was as much as the king could afford for the prince's ſupport and maintenance; and he largely expatiated on the dangerous conſequences that might enſue, if the ſon ſhould be rendered altogether independent of the father.

THE

The ſupporters of the motion obſerved, that the allowance was totally inadequate to defray the prince's yearly expence, without one ſhilling for acts of either charity or munificence; but after a warm and long debate, the motion was rejected.

While the continent of Europe, and the iſles of America, were expoſed to the ravages of war, and ſubjected to the viciſſitudes of fortune, Great Britain was threatened with a dangerous convulſion in the internal departments of the ſtate. The ſon of the Chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of aſcending the throne of his anceſtors, reſolved to make an effort for that purpoſe. The time he choſe for exciting an inteſtine commotion in Great Britain, was extremely favourable to his views.

A. D. 1745. Scotland was quite unfurniſhed with troops, and in many places diſaffected; the Jacobites were numerous in England; King George was in Germany; and the Duke of Cumberland at the head of the Engliſh army was employed in

in Flanders. At this juncture, the young Pretender landed in Scotland, but without either money or forces; however, in a ſhort time, he was joined by a conſiderable number of Highlanders, under their reſpective chiefs. England was now completely alarmed.

THE lords of the regency iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thouſand pounds, to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the Prince adventurer; and a courier was diſpatched to Holland, to haſten the return of his majeſty, who arrived in England about the end Auguſt, in this year. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; aſſociations were formed, and large contributions were raiſed in different towns, counties and communities, and the moſt vigorous preparations were made throughout the nation.

THE proteſtant clergy of all denominations exerted their utmoſt ardour in preaching againſt the popiſh religion and the Pretender; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated and confirmed

in their principles, by ſeveral ſpiritual productions publiſhed on the occaſion. In a word, the maſs of the people ſeemed unanimouſly bent upon oppoſing the Pretender, who nevertheleſs, had already made ſurpriſing progreſs.

His arrival in Scotland was no ſooner confirmed, than, Sir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that Kingdom, aſſembled what force he could collect together, and advanced againſt the rebels. By this time, the young Pretender had poſſeſſed himſelf of Edinburgh, where he cauſed his father to be proclaimed, and alſo publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he was appointed by his father, regent of his dominions.

During theſe tranſactions General Cope advanced to Edinburgh, to give the enemy battle. But the young Pretender engaged him at Preſton-Pans, and gained a complete victory over him. From this victory the Pretender derived manifold and important advantages: his followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated.

But

But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that conſternation which his late ſucceſs had diffuſed throughout the nation. While the Pretender endeavoured to improve the advantages he had acquired, Great Britain took every poſſible meaſure to check his progreſs. Immediately after the opening of the Britiſh parliament, the Duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands. The trained bands of London were reviewed by his majeſty: the county regiments were completed; the volunteers induſtriouſly applied themſelves to the uſe and exerciſe of arms; and the whole Engliſh nation ſeemed to riſe up as one man againſt this formidable invader. The young Pretender having muſtered a numerous army, made a ſally into England, and inveſted Carliſle, which in three days ſurrendered. Here he found a conſiderable ſtore of arms; and his father was proclaimed king of Great Britain, and himſelf declared regent, by the magiſtrates, in their formalities. From thence he marched within one hundred miles of the capital, which was now filled with the utmoſt terror and conſternation.

THIS ſtate of ſuſpenſe was of ſhort duration. The young Pretender had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom and not a foul appeared in his behalf; he therefore determined to retire to Scotland, and this young adventurer effected a retreat thither, perhaps as ſurpriſing as any that ever was performed. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance of this expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which theſe ferocious troops conducted themſelves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually reſtrained from the exerciſe of rapine. Notwithſtanding the exceſſive cold, the hunger and fatigue to which they muſt have been expoſed, they left behind them no ſick, and left only a few ſtragglers; they retired with deliberation and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. After this the Pretender routed and defeated general Hawley at Falkirk, the greateſt part of whoſe troops fled in the utmoſt conſternation. General Hawley having boaſted, that with two regiments of dragoons he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred

incurred abundance of cenſure for the diſpoſition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action; and the Duke of Cumberland was choſen to take the command of the army in Scotland.

THE Duke put himſelf immediately at the head of the forces, and on the ſixteenth of April, in the year 1746, he came up to the rebels on Culloden Moor, and in leſs than thirty minutes he totally defeated the Pretender's entire army.

A. D. 1746. HOWEVER the glory of the victory was ſullied by the barbarity of the ſoldiers. They had been provoked by their former diſgraces to the moſt ſavage thirſt of revenge. Not content with the blood which was ſhed in the heat of action, they traverſed the field, after the enemye's defeat and maſſacred thoſe miſerable wretches who lay maimed and expiring; nay ſome officers acted a ſanguinary part in this cruel ſcene of aſſaſſination: it was the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninſpired by ſenti-

ment, untinctured by humanity. Thus, in one short hour all the young adventurer's hopes were extinguished and the rebellion completely crushed.

The Pretender dismissed his followers and wandered about, a wretched and solitary fugitive, among the isles and mountains, for the space of five months, and underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and misery, as probably no other person ever outlived. In the month of May the Duke of Cumberland sent detachments off on all hands to hunt down the fugitives, and desolate the country with fire and sword. They plundered and burned every house, hut and habitation, they met with, without distinction; they carried off all the cattle and provisions. The men were either shot on the mountains like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood without form of trial: the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heath. One whole family was enclosed in a barn and consumed to ashes. So alert were these ministers of vengeance in the execution of their abominable

abominable office, that in the courſe of a few days there was neither houſe, cottage, man nor beaſt to be ſeen in the compaſs of fifty miles; all was ruin, ſilence, and deſolation.

The humane reader cannot reflect upon ſuch a ſcene, without being impreſſed with the deepeſt ſenſe of grief and horror; but what muſt have been the ſenſations of the fugitive prince, when he beheld theſe deplorable monuments of woe, and conſidered them the melancholy fruits of his ambition? He was now ſurrounded by armed troops, who chaſed him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from ſhore to ſhore. At times he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other ſupport but that which the pooreſt peaſant could ſupply. Sometimes he was rowed in fiſhing-boats from iſle to iſle, among the Hebrides and often in ſight of his purſuers. For ſome days, he aſſumed woman's attire, and even paſſed through the midſt of his enemies unknown; but underſtanding his diſguiſe was diſcovered, he put on the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and bogs with a matted beard and

ſqualid

ſqualid looks, expoſed to hunger, thirſt and fatigue, and in conſtant apprehenſions of being taken by his enemy. He was obliged to commit his life to the fidelity of more than fifty individuals, and moſt of theſe in the loweſt walks of life; who knew that a price of thirty thouſand pounds was ſet upon his head; and that by betraying him, they ſhould enjoy wealth and affluence; but they abhorred the idea of obtaining riches on ſuch infamous terms, and ſupplied his neceſſities with fidelity and zeal, even at the riſk of their own ruin.

In the courſe of theſe peregrinations he was more than once ſurrounded by his purſuers, in ſuch a manner as appeared to preclude all hope of eſcape; yet he never abandoned himſelf to deſpair, nor was he ever deprived of recollection or preſence of mind. He ſtill found ſome expedient that reſcued him from captivity and death; and during the whole courſe of his woes and diſtreſs, he preſerved the moſt aſtoniſhing equanimity of mind, and uniformity of temper. At length he was conveyed to France in a privateer of St. Maloes,

St. Maloes, hired by ſome of his Iriſh adherents for that purpoſe. Although it has been the practice of England, to hold out Ireland, as a land of turbulence and commotion; yet, ſince the revolution, and the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Brunſwick, the Iriſh have demeaned themſelves in a manner that reflects the greateſt credit on themſelves and their country, and this at a period when they ſuffered ſeverely, and had frequent cauſe of complaint againſt the ſiſter nation.

The Iriſh nation in general were no way implicated in this and the preceding rebellion if we except a few individuals who intereſted themſelves in the fate of this unfortunate adventurer.

The rebellion being quelled, the Britiſh legiſlature reſolved to make examples of thoſe who had been concerned in diſturbing the peace of their country. An act of attainder paſſed againſt the principal perſons who had embarked in this deſperate undertaking, and courts were opened in different parts of England for the trial of the priſoners. Upwards of

of one hundred and fifty were executed as traitors; and the Earls of Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Derwentwater, and Lovat, were beheaded on Tower Hill.

THE peace of Aix La Chapelle put a period to a war, which in a great meaſure, nurſed this rebellion; and with the war, terminated the hopes of the Pretender to the crown of Great Britain: for after the concluſion of this treaty, the French King promiſed that Charles Edward Stuart ſhould quit his dominions. An ordinance of the French court paſſed to that effect, which the Pretender not complying with, was ſeized by a guard of French ſoldiers, by whom he was detained until he obeyed the ordinance; thus only were peace and tranquility reſtored to the Britiſh dominions, and war ceaſed all over Europe. The treaty of Aix, however unſtable or inglorious it might appear to thoſe few who underſtood the intereſts, and felt for the honour of their country, was nevertheleſs not unwelcome to the nation in general.

THE

THE Engliſh miniſtry will always find it more difficult to ſatisfy the people at the concluſion of a ſucceſsful campaign, than at the end of an unfortunate war. The Engliſh are impatient of miſcarriages and diſappointment, and too apt to be intoxicated with victory. At this time they were wearied of the burthens; and ſick of the diſgraces, to which they had been expoſed, during ſeven tedious campaigns. They had ſuffered great loſſes, and their commerce, the chief ſource of their opulence being interrupted; they were convinced it would be fettered and clogged with additional duties, for the ſupport of a continental war, and that of foreign ſubſidiaries; and they drew weak hopes of future ſucceſs, either from the conduct of their allies, or from the capacity of their commanders. To a people influenced by theſe conſiderations, the reſtoration of a free trade, the reſpite from that anxiety and apprehenſion which the proſecution of a war never fails to excite, and the proſpect of a ſpeedy deliverance from oppreſſive impoſitions, were advantages that ſweetened the bitter draught of a diſhonourable treaty,

and

and induced the nation to acquieſce in the peace, not barely without murmuring, but even with ſome degree of ſatisfaction and applauſe. Some time after, an event happened, which overwhelmed the people with grief and conſternation.

A. D. 1750 His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, was ſeized with a pleuretic diſorder; and after a ſhort illneſs expired, on the twentieth day of March, to the unſpeakable affliction of his Royal Conſort, and the ſincere and unfeigned ſorrow of all who wiſhed well to their country. This excellent prince, who now died in the forty-fifth year of his age, was poſſeſſed of every amiable quality which could engage the affections of the nation: a tender and obliging huſband, a fond parent, a kind maſter, liberal, generous, candid and humane, a munificent patron of the arts, an unwearied friend to merit; well diſpoſed to aſſert the rights of mankind in general, and warmly attached to the intereſts of Great Britain.

THE nation could not but be afflicted at ſeeing a prince of ſuch expectations raviſhed from their hopes; and their grief was the better founded, as the king was already advanced to a mature age, and the heir apparent, George, now Prince of Wales was a minor. His majeſty, foreſeeing the inconveniencies that might reſult from a minority, reſolved to ſecure the ſucceſſion by a parliamentary ſanction. A bill accordingly paſſed, whereby it was enacted, that when the imperial crown ſhould deſcend to any of the late prince's ſons, being under the age of eighteen years, his mother the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, ſhould be guardian of his perſon, and regent of the Britiſh dominions, until he ſhould arrive at the age of majority, with certain powers and limitations as were thought neceſſary and expedient.

ONE of the moſt remarkable acts which paſſed in this ſeſſion in the Britiſh parliament, was that for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar according to the Gregorian computation, which had been adopted by all the other nations in Europe. Almoſt every day ſince the concluſion

ſion of the war, exhibited freſh inſtances of robbery and rapine, the undoubted conſequences of the reduction of the army and navy; perjury, fraud and circumvention were univerſally predominant in Great Britain, and the nation diſplayed a moſt aſtoniſhing jumble of virtue and vice, honour and infamy, compaſſion and obduracy, ſentiment and brutality.

The ſuburbs of the metropolis abounded with a vaſt number of public houſes, which perpetually reſounded with the noiſe of riot and intemperance; they were the receptacles of idleneſs, fraud and rapine; and the ſeminaries of drunkenneſs, debauchery, extravagance, and every ſpecies of vice incident to human nature. An act of the legiſlature for the ſuppreſſion of theſe infernal haunts, was not attended with the deſired effects. The magiſtrates were inveſted with the power of granting or refuſing licences, but numbers of them to the reproach of government, were men of profligate lives, needy, ignorant, and rapacious, who often acted from the moſt infamous, and ſcandalous principles of ſelfiſh avarice.

The

THE practice of clandeſtine marriages was now prevalent to the higheſt degree. The ſons and daughters of reſpectable families, before they had attained the years of diſcretion, were ſeduced in their affections, and decoyed into connexions, replete with infamy and ruin; and theſe were very much facilitated by the opportunities that occurred, of being inſtantaneouſly united by the ceremony of marriage, in the firſt tranſport of paſſion, before the devoted victim had time to cool or deliberate on the ſubject. For this purpoſe there was a band of profligate miſcreants, the refuſe of the clergy, dead to every ſentiment of virtue, abandoned to all ſenſe of decency and decorum, indeed the very outcaſts of ſociety, who plied like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage, without either licenſe or queſtion, in cellars, garrets, and ale houſes—to the ſcandal of religion, and the diſgrace of that venerable and reſpectable function which they profaned by profeſſing. The eaſe with which this eccleſiaſtical ſanction was obtained, and the vicious diſpoſition of thoſe wretches, open to the practice of fraud and corruption

corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, proſtitution, and every curſe that could embitter the marriage ſtate. The legiſlature enacted a law to reſtrain and prevent theſe abuſes—but it had been found ineffectual, as it may eaſily be eluded by a pleaſant voyage to the continent, or a ſhort journey to North Britain, where the indiſſoluble knot may be tied without ſcruple or interruption.

A. D. 1754. In the beginning of this year violent diſputes aroſe between the government and the commons of Ireland, of the almoſt forgotten ſubjects of privilege and prerogative. The commons conceived they had an undoubted right to apply the ſurplus of the revenue, towards national purpoſes; without the conſent of their ſovereign, and accordingly, in the year one thouſand, ſeven hundred and forty nine, prepared a bill with this preamble "Where-" as, on the 25th of March laſt, a conſidera-" ble balance remained in the hands of the " vice treaſurer, or receivers general of the " Kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, un-" applied,

" applied; and it will be for your majeſty's " ſervice, and for the eaſe of your faithful " ſubjects in Ireland, that ſo much thereof " as can be conveniently ſpared, ſhould be " paid agreeably to your majeſty's moſt gra- " cious intentions, in diſcharge of a part of " the national debt."

THIS appropriation gave great offence to the advocates for prerogative in England, who affirmed, the commons had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take any ſuch affair into conſideration, without the previous conſent of the crown, expreſſed in the moſt explicit terms. It was in conſequence of this doctrine, that the Duke of Dorſet, then Lord Lieutenant, informed them in the next ſeſſion of parliament, held in the year 1751, that he was commanded by the King to acquaint them, that his majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects, would graciouſly conſent, and recommended it to them, that ſuch part of the money then remaining in his treaſury, as ſhould be thought conſiſtent

with the public ſervice, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt.

A. D. 1754. THIS declaration alarmed the commons, zealous as they were for the preſervation of their privileges; and in their addreſſes which uſed always to echo back the words of the ſpeech, they made no mention of his majeſty's conſent; but only acknowledged his gracious attention to their eaſe and happineſs, in recommending to them the application of the ſurplus. They, accordingly, reſolved to apply one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of that ſurplus, towards a diſcharge of the national debt; and in the preamble of the bill, framed for this purpoſe, made no mention of his majeſty's conſent, though they previouſly had acknowledged his goodneſs in recommending this application.

THE Engliſh miniſtry was highly offended at this propoſed omiſſion, which they conſtrued into a wilful encroachment on the prerogative; and the bill was ſent back with an alteration in the preamble, ſignifying his majeſty's

jeſty's conſent, as well as recommendation. The Iriſh houſe of commons, being at that time deeply engaged in a minute enquiry into the conduct of a gentleman, a ſervant of the crown, and a member of their own houſe, accuſed of having miſapplied a large ſum of money, with which he had been entruſted for rebuilding and repairing barracks, were how unwilling to embroil themſelves further with government, until this affair ſhould be diſcuſſed: they therefore paſſed the bill with the alteration, and proceeded with their enquiry. The member having been convicted of a miſapplication of the public money, and obliged to make reparation at his own expence; the commons did not neglect to aſſert their rights and privileges when the next opportunity occurred.

The Duke of Dorſet, when he opened the ſeſſion of this year, repeated the expreſſion of his majeſty's gracious conſent, in mentioning the ſurplus of the public money. They again omitted that word in their addreſs, and reſolved in their bill of application, not only to ſink that odious term, but likewiſe to

abate in their complaiſance, by omitting that expreſſion of grateful acknowledgements, which had met with ſuch a cold reception above.

By this time the conteſt had kindled up two factions and diffuſed a general ſpirit of reſentment through the whole nation. The committee who prepared the bill, inſtead of inſerting the uſual compliments in the preamble, mentioned nothing but a recital of facts, and ſent it over in a very plain dreſs, altogether deſtitute of all embroidery. The miniſtry intent upon vindicating the prerogative filled up the omiſſions of the committee, and ſent it back with this alteration. "And your majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of your faithful ſubjects, has been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify, that you would conſent and recommend it to us, that ſo much of the money remaining in your majeſty's treaſury as ſhould be neceſſary, be applied to the diſcharge of the national debt, or ſuch part thereof as ſhould be thought expedient by parliament."

This then being the criſis which was to determine a conſtitutional point of ſo much national moment, namely, whether the people in

in parliament aſſembled, have a right to deliberate upon, and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue without the previous conſent of the crown, ſuch members as were moſt zealouſly attached to the liberties of Ireland, exerted themſelves moſt ſtrenuouſly in oppoſing what was a violation of thoſe liberties, and the bill with its alterations was rejected by a majority of five voices. This ſucceſs was celebrated throughout the nation with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, as the triumph of patriotiſm, over the arts of miniſterial corruption; and all the ſervants of the crown, who had joined the popular ſide on this occaſion, were in a little time diſmiſſed from their employments. But the rejection of the bill was a great diſappointment to the public creditors, and the circulation of caſh was almoſt ſtagnated.

THESE calamities were juſtly aſcribed to arbitrary deſigns in the government; and the nation began to be inſpired with an enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of independency, which might have produced alarming effects, had not government artfully brought over the demagogues, and thus diverted the ſtream of popu-

lar clamour from government to thoſe very individuals who had been the idols of popular veneration. The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons was promoted to the dignity of an Earl; and ſome other patriots were gratified with lucrative employments. His majeſty's letter arrived for paying off ſeventy five thouſand pounds of the national debt, the circualtion was thus animated, and the indignation of the people ſubſiding, the nation recovered its former tranquillity.

A. D. 1755. DURING this period, the public was overwhelmed with conſternation by the tidings of a tremendous earthquake, which on the firſt of November, ſhook all Spain and Portugal and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Liſbon in ruins. The two firſt ſhocks of this dreadful viſitation continued near a quarter of an hour; the water of the river Tagus roſe perpendicularly upwards of twenty feet, and ſubſided to its natural bed in leſs than a minute; great numbers of houſes, of which this city then contained about thirty ſix thouſand, were thrown down by the repeated concuſſions of the earth, together with ſeveral magnificent

nificent churches, monaſteries, and public edifices. But what entirely completed the deſtruction of this then moſt opulent capital of the Portugueze dominions, was, a devouring conflagration, partly fortuitous, but chiefly occaſioned by a ſet of impious villains, who unawed at the tremendous ſcene before them, with unparalleled wickedneſs ſet fire to the falling edifices in different parts of the city, to encreaſe the general confuſion, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already forlorn and deſolate fellow citizens. Out of theſe hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, which Liſbon was then ſuppoſed to contain, about ten thouſand periſhed by this calamity; and the ſurvivors deprived of their habitations, and deſtitute even of the neceſſaries of life, were obliged to ſeek for ſhelter in the open fields.

To the honour of Britiſh and Iriſh humanity, a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, and a large ſum of money was ſent to the relief of the miſerable ſufferers who were now in actual want of the neceſſaries of life.

THE inteſtine broils of Ireland were this year happily compoſed, by the prudent management of the Marquis of Hartington then viceroy. His ſteady and firm conduct, his candour and humanity, together with the excellent laws which he encouraged and were paſſed for the benefit of the nation, allayed in a great meaſure the diſſentions and ferments which before exiſted among the Iriſh, yet this was not altogether effected without a large portion of bribery and corruption.

OF all the tranſactions during the reign of George II. the execution of Admiral Byng was the moſt infamous. He was generally eſteemed one of the beſt officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with diſgrace, and expoſed his life to all the horrors of an ignominious death. Admiral Byng was put to death to the ſurprize of all Europe, who, whatever were the nature of his errors and indiſcretions, ſeems to have been rather condemned and cruelly ſacrificed to the baſeſt of purpoſes.

NOTWITH-

A. D. 1757. NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been ſaid in his favour, notwithſtanding the infamous arts practiſed to keep up the cry againſt him, notwithſtanding his ſolemn appeal to heaven in his laſt moments, and even the ſtrongeſt apparent ſelf conviction of his innocence; the character of Admiral Byng, in point of perſonal courage, will ſtill in the minds of many remain problematical; while others will remain firm of belief, that if the ſpirit of a Britiſh admiral had been properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved. A man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in conſequence of an irregular tide of animal ſpirits, and he is often actuated by conſiderations which he dares not avow.

WHEN an officer thus influenced, has heſitated in the hour of trial, the mind eager for its own juſtification, collects with ſurprizing induſtry every favourable circumſtance of excuſe, and broods over them with parental partiality. Whatever Admiral Byng's feelings might have been; as the tribunal before which he was tried, acquitted him expreſsly of cowardice and diſaffection, and ſtrongly recommended

recommended him as an object of mercy; in ſuch caſe he was thought a fit ſubject for the royal clemency, and ſo impartial hiſtory will judge him, after all thoſe diſhonourable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, ſhall be loſt in oblivion, or remembered with diſdain.

If we turn our eyes to the Continent of Europe, we will ſee the commencement of the year marked with a ſtriking inſtance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthuſiaſm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, eaſy, complying, goodnatured and averſe from all that wore the appearance of buſineſs or of war. Satisfied with the pleaſures of indolence, he ſought no greatneſs beyond what he enjoyed, nor purſued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own diſpoſition. Of all men living, ſuch a prince had the beſt reaſon to expect an exemption from plots againſt his perſon, and cabals among his people; yet was an attempt made on his life, by a man, who though placed in the loweſt ſphere of fortune, had reſolution to face the greateſt dangers, and enthuſiaſm ſufficient to ſuſtain without ſhrinking,

ſhrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render neceſſary.

THE name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, a citizen of Arras. On the fifth of January, he ſeized the opportunity of the King's ſtepping into his coach, and ſtabbed him with a knife in the ſide. Happily the wound was not dangerous, as the knife took an oblique direction and miſſed the vital parts. Damien was inſtantly ſeized, and every refinement on cruelty that human invention could ſuggeſt, was practiſed on him, to extort a confeſſion, of the reaſons that induced him to make ſo execrable an attempt on the life of his ſovereign; but to no effect, for nothing could overcome his obſtinacy.

IT is not within our province, and we conſider it as a felicity not to relate all the horrid circumſtances of this tragical event; ſuffice it to ſay, that after enduring and ſuffering the moſt exquiſite tortures that human nature could invent, or man ſupport—his judges thought proper to terminate his miſery

fery, by a death ſhocking to imagination, and ſhameful to humanity. He was conducted to the common place of execution, ſtripped naked and faſtened to the ſcaffold. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming ſulphur; his thighs, legs and arms were torn with red hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, roſin and ſulphur were poured into the wounds; tight bandages were tied around his limbs, to prepare him for diſmemberment; young and vigorous horſes were afterwards applied to the draught; and the miſerable criminal pulled with all their force to the utmoſt extention of his ſinews, for the ſpace of one hour, during which time he preſerved his ſenſes and conſtancy. At length the executioner cut the ſinews at the joints of the arms and legs; and thus after ſeveral efforts the unfortunate wretch was diſmembered, and the different lacerated and ſcattered fragments of his fleſh and limbs, were collected and reduced to aſhes: his father, wife, daughter and family baniſhed the kingdom for ever, and the name of Damien obliterated, while the innocent were implicated in the puniſhment of the guilty. Thus, ended the procedure againſt Damien and his family, in a manner diſhonourable to the reputed clemency

mency of Lewis, and exhibiting an infernal and horrid inſtance of the acknowledged inhumanity of a poliſhed Nation.

It appeared from undoubted evidence that the attempt on the king's life was the effect of inſanity and a diſturbed imagination. Several marks of a diſordered mind had previouſly been obſerved in his conduct, and the deteſtation juſtly due to the enormity of his crime, ought now to have been abſorbed in the conſideration of his misfortune, the greateſt that can befal human nature.

From ſuch horrid ſcenes we turn with pleaſure to the improvements at this period, produced in different arts and ſciences that ſeemed to promiſe much public utility. Although no Mecænas appeared among the miniſters and not the leaſt ray of patronage glimmered from the throne; yet the protection, countenance, and gratification ſecured in other countries by the inſtitutions of academies, and the liberality of princes; the learned and ingenious in theſe kingdoms derived from the generoſity of a public, endued with taſte and ſenſibility, eager for improvement and proud of

patronizing

patronizing extraordinary merit. At this time ſeveral perſons invented methods of diſcovering the longitude at ſea, that great deſideratum in navigation for the completion of which ſo many nations have offered a public reward, and in the inveſtigation of which ſo many mathematical heads have been diſordered.

Some of thoſe who now appeared candidates for the prize deſerved encouragement for the ingenuity of their ſeveral ſyſtem's; but he who enjoyed the pre-eminence in the opinion and favour of the public was Mr. Irvine, an Iriſh gentleman. He contrived a chair ſo artfully poized that a perſon ſitting in it on board a ſhip even in a rough ſea, could through a teleſcope, obſerve the immerſion and emerſi- of jupiter's moons, without being interrupted or incommoded by the agitation of the ſhip.

This gentleman was countenanced by Commodore Lord Howe, in whoſe preſence the experiment was tried in ſeveral ſhips at ſea with ſuch ſucceſs, that Lord Howe granted him a certificate, ſignifying his approbation; and in conſequence, Mr. Irvine obtained a conſiderable reward from the board of admiralty

ralty. The Prince of Wales now having compleated the twenty firſt year of his age, the anniverſary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the king received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who ſeemed born to fulfil the hopes and complete the happineſs of Great Britain. Addreſſes and congratulations were on this occaſion preſented from all parts of the kingdom to his majeſty, replete with ſentiments of loyalty and affection, and no trace of diſaffection was at this time perceivable in any part of the empire.

The uſurpations and encroachments of the French on the Britiſh territories in America were the cauſe of a freſh war between Great Britain and France. The Britiſh ſubjects conſidering the French their inveterate and natural enemies, as well as the incendiaries of all Europe, eagerly approved of the war and chearfully contributed to a vigorous proſecution of it. The French with a view to embarraſs the Britiſh miniſtry and direct their attention from all external expeditions, had projected a plan for invading ſome part of the Britiſh dominions; and they now actually began to make preparations

porations in different parts of their courts for carrying this deſign into execution.

The Engliſh miniſtry adopted every precautionary meaſure, but wiſely placed their chief dependence upon the ſtrength of the navy, part of which was ſo ſtationed and divided as to block up all the harbours in France, in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of any conſequence.

The French prepared a conſiderable fleet in the harbours of Rochfort and Breaſt under the command of Mon. De Conflans, and reinforced by a large body of troops under the Duc D'Aiguillon. Flat boats and tranſports for their intended expedition, were prepared in different ports on the coaſt of France; and a ſmall ſquadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprizing adventurer called Thurot, who in the courſe of the preceding year had ſignalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belliſle which had ſcoured the north ſeas, and made many captures. Thurot's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain

tain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle, than his dexterity in eluding the Britiſh cruiſers. It muſt be likewiſe owned, for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner, though deſtitute of the advantages of birth and education, was greatly diſtinguiſhed by his generoſity and compaſſion to thoſe who had the misfortune to fall into his hands; and that his deportment in every reſpect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the ſervice of his country. The court of Verſailles was not ignorant of his merit. He received a commiſſion from the French King, and was entruſted with the command of a ſmall armament then fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk.

A. D. 1759. The Britiſh government being apprized of theſe particulars, took ſuch meaſures to defeat this intended invaſion, as muſt have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to thoſe, who conſidered that, excluſive of the force oppoſed to his deſign, they at the ſame time, carried on moſt vigorous and important operations of war, in Germany, America, the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

THUROT's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an Engliſh ſquadron under commodore Boyce, and the whole court of France was ſo guarded by different ſquadrons of the Britiſh fleet, as to reſemble an actual blockade. The French miniſtry being thus hampered, forbore their attempts upon Britain, and the projected invaſion was for ſome time ſuſpended. But the French army being defeated by the Britiſh at Minden, and all their deſigns having been baffled in Germany, they at length determined to try their fortune in a deſcent, and they now propoſed to land a body of troops in Ireland.

THUROT received orders to ſail from Dunkirk with the firſt opportunity, and ſteer his courſe around the north of Scotland, that he might alarm the coaſt of Ireland, and make a diverſion from that part where the French Admiral Conflans deſigned to ſend his forces.

THE tranſports and ſhips of war, were aſſembled at Breſt, and Rochfort; having on board, a train of artilery, with ſaddles and other acoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops

troops, including part of the Irish brigade was kept in readineſs to embark. The execution of this ſcheme, was however prevented, by the vigilance and valour of the Britiſh admiral Sir Edward Hawke, who routed and defeated the French fleet under Admiral Conflans; in a memorable engagement, which may be conſidered as one of the moſt perilous and important, that ever happened in any war between the two nations, for it not only fruſtrated the projected invaſion, but gave the finiſhing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally diſabled from undertaking any thing of moment in the ſequel. The alarm of the French invaſion thus happily fruſtrated, not only diſturbed the quiet of Britain, but infuſed terror into Ireland. In the latter end of October, the Iriſh parliament aſſembled, and received a formal meſſage from the Duke of Bedford, who was then lord lieutenant, to the following effect: That, by a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, written by his majeſty's expreſs commands, it appeared that France far from abandoning the deſign of invaſion on account of the late diſaſter, was more and more confirmed in her purpoſe, and that in all probability

bility, Ireland would be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it therefore incumbent on him, in a matter of ſuch importance to the welfare of Ireland, to communicate this intelligence to the Iriſh parliament. He told them his majeſty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful proteſtant ſubjects, had been already ſufficiently quickened, by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous deſigns and actual preparations.

He gave them to underſtand he had received his majeſty's commands, to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland, to exert their well known zeal and ſpirit in ſupport of his government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by a timely preparation to oppoſe and fruſtrate any hoſtile attempt to diſturb the peace and unhinge the ſecurity of the nation. He therefore in the ſtrongeſt terms, recommended to them to evince on this occaſion, that zeal for the preſent happy conſtitution, and that affection for his majeſty's perſon and government, by which the Iriſh parliament had been ſo often diſtinguiſhed on ſeveral trying emergencies.

As

As ſoon as this meſſage was communicated, the houſe of commons unanimouſly reſolved, to preſent an addreſs to the lord lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had manifeſted for the ſafety of Ireland, in communicating intelligence of ſo great moment; deſiring him in the mean while to adopt ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear to him the moſt effectual, for the ſecurity and defence of the nation; and aſſuring him, that the houſe would make good whatever expence ſhould be neceſſarily incurred for that purpoſe. This intimation and the meaſures that were taken in purſuance of it for the defence of the kingdom, produced ſuch alarms and diſtractions, throughout the nation as well nigh annihilated the public credit.

In the firſt tranſports of fear and apprehenſion, there was ſo great a run on the Dublin banks, that ſeveral eminent bankers were obliged to ſtop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being deſtroyed; when the lord lieutenant, the members of both houſes of parliament, the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants and principal traders of Dublin, entered into an aſſociation in ſupport of public credit, by

taking the notes of bankers in payment; a reſolution that fully anſwered the purpoſe intended.

However the French might have flattered themſelves, that their invading army would be joined in Ireland by a number of the natives, in this hope, they would unqueſtionably have been diſappointed, for at this juncture, no ſigns of diſaffection appeared in any quarter of the kingdom. On the contrary, the opulent individuals of the catholic perſuaſion, offered to furniſh government with conſiderable ſums of money, in caſe of neceſſity, to maintain the preſent eſtabliſhment againſt all its enemies; and the catholics of the city of Cork, and moſt of that perſuaſion in the kingdom, preſented addreſſes to the lord lieutenant, expreſſing their loyalty and attachment to his majeſty's perſon, and government. They congratulated his grace on the unparalleled ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms, and expreſſed their warm ſenſe of the king's paternal tenderneſs for his kingdom of Ireland, while they acknowledged with gratitude, the protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his majeſty's auſpicious reign.

They

THEY expreſſed the warmeſt indignation, at the projected invaſion of the kingdom, by an enemy grown deſperate by defeats, who might poſſibly make that attempt as a laſt effort; buoyed up perhaps with the imaginary hope of aſſiſtance in Ireland, from the former attachment of their deluded predeceſſors.

A. D. 1759. THEY aſſured his grace, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſuch deſigns were altogether incompatible with their principles and intentions; that they would to the utmoſt exertion of their abilities, and with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and ſupport of his majeſty's royal perſon and government againſt all invaders whatſoever; that they ſhould be always ready to concur in ſuch meaſures, and to act ſuch parts in defence of the Kingdom, in conjunction with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, as his Grace in his wiſdom ſhould be pleaſed to appoint; and thought themſelves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of ſo well known an aſſertor of liberty, or ſo important and diſtinguiſhed a governor.

FINALLY,

FINALLY, they expreſſed the moſt earneſt wiſh, that his Majeſty's arms might be crowned with ſuch a continuance of ſucceſs, as might enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a ſpeedy and honourable peace. Many of theſe cordial addreſſes, that from Cork in particular, were tranſmitted to the Earl of Shannon, and preſented by his Lordſhip to the Duke of Bedford. At ſo critical a juncture; theſe ſentiments were as pleaſing to the government as they were honourable to the catholics.

No traces of diſaffection to his majeſty's perſon, appeared at this period in Ireland; yet a violent commotion of the populace broke out in the City of Dublin. The Duke was by no means popular in his adminiſtration. He had beſtowed a place of conſiderable importance on a man, who was extremely obnoxious to many perſons in the Kingdom, and his grace was deficient in that affability and complacency which a free and hoſpitable nation expects to find in the characters of their chief governors. The Iriſh in general, were highly offended at his deportment,

deportment, and with juſtice began to entertain doubts and jealouſies of certain machinations in the government; while apprehenſions were conceived; that his excellency wiſhed to effect an union between Great Britain and Ireland. This opinion was propagated among the populace with much induſtry. They were informed, that a plan, was determined on by government, to deprive Ireland of her parliament and independence, and to ſubject her to the ſame taxes which were levied on the people of Great Britain.

THIS report inflamed the populace to ſuch a degree, that they aſſembled in immenſe crowds around the parliament houſe, broke into the houſe of lords, inſulted the peers, ſeated an old woman on the throne, and ſearched for the journals, which they would have committed to the flames, had they been found. They then obliged ſuch members of both houſes as they met in the ſtreets, to take an oath that they would never conſent to an union, or give any vote contrary to the real intereſt of Ireland. A body of horſe and infantry, were drawn

out

out on this occaſion to intimidate the mob, which in the evening diſperſed of itſelf. Addreſſes were next day agreed to, by *both* houſes of parliament, and a committee of enquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the commotion might be diſcovered, and brought to condign puniſhment.

When the Britiſh court heard that Thurot had eſcaped from Dunkirk, with a ſmall ſquadron of armed ſhips, having on *board* a body of land troops, deſigned for a private expedition on the coaſt of Scotland or *Ireland*, expreſſes were immediately diſpatched to the commanding officers, in Scotland, to put the forts along that coaſt in the *beſt* ſtate of defence, and to hold every thing in readineſs to repel the enemy, in caſe they ſhould attempt a deſcent. The greateſt encomium that can be paid the character of Thurot, is an account of the alarm which his puny army in a moment ſpread through the whole extent of the Britiſh dominions, whoſe fleets at that time covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been ſooner ſtopped, had Commodore Boyce been victualled

ituálled for a longer cruiſe; but he was obliged to put into Leith, for a ſupply of proviſions; at the very time when Thurot was ſeen hovering on the coaſts of Scotland: and before the Engliſh ſquadron was provided for a proſecution of the cruiſe, Thurot had taken ſhelter at Gottenburgh, in Sweden.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Reduction of Canada by General Wolfe.—Thurot lands at Carrickfergus in Ireland—Defeated by Captain Elliot, and killed—The Bravery of five Iriſhmen and a boy, belonging to the Crew of a Waterford Ship—The Trial of Lord George Sackville—The Execution of Earl Ferrers for Murder—Death of George II.—His Character—State of Commerce—State of Religion and Philoſophy—Genius not encouraged nor patronized by the Crown—The erection of numerous charitable Inſtitutions in Dublin—The Magdalen Aſylum—View of the Finances, and alſo of the Laws, ſince the Revolution—Reduction of the Intereſt of Money from 10 to 8 per Cent, from 8 to 7, and from 7 to 6, being the preſent Rate—Conſiderations ariſing from comparing our preſent Conſtitution with its ancient Model.

A. D. 1759. IF we extend our views acroſs the Atlantic, into America, we find this year particularly diſtinguiſhed by the taking of Quebec, and the reduction of Canada

Canada. At the capture of Quebec, we muſt lament the fate of the gallant Wolfe, who expired in the arms of victory. General Wolfe was a national loſs, and as ſuch univerſally regretted. He inherited from nature an animating fervour of ſentiment, an extenſive capacity, and a paſſion for glory, which ſtimulated him to acquire every kind of military knowledge, that ſtudy or actual ſervice could procure. He was brave above all ſenſe of danger; he was alſo generous, gentle and humane; a pattern to the officer, and the darling of the ſoldiers. Had his genius been exerciſed to its full extent by opportunity and action; and his judgment matured by age and experience, he would undoubtedly have rivalled in reputation, the moſt celebrated heroes of antiquity. As ſoon as the account of the victory, and ſurrender of Quebec, had reached England; all was rapture, all was triumph and exultation, blended with the praiſe of the gallant Wolfe.

The Britiſh parliament preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, requeſting he would order a monument to be erected to the memory of Major general

general Wolfe; at the ſame time they reſolved, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the ſurviving generals and admirals, employed in the glorious and ſucceſsful expedition to Quebec. Teſtimonies of this kind, while they reflect honour on the character of the nation, never fail to animate individuals to a ſpirited exertion of their talents in the ſervice of their country.

A. D. 1760. In ecounting the tranſactions of the preceding year, we mentioned a ſmall armament equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of M. de Thurot, who notwithſtanding all the vigilance of Commodore Boyce, ſtationed in the Downs, to watch him, found means to eſcape from Dunkirk in the month of October, and arrived at Gottenburgh, in Sweden; from whence he proceeded to Bergen, in Norway.

His inſtructions were to make occaſional deſcents upon the coaſt of Ireland, and by dividing the troops and diſtracting the attention of the government, of the kingdom; to facilitate the enterpriſe of M. De Conflans, the

the fate of which has already been mentioned. Thurot's original armament conſiſted of five ſhips, one of which, called the Mareſchal de Belleiſle, was mounted with forty four guns; the Begon, the Blond, the Terpſichore, had thirty guns each, and the Marante carried twenty four. The number of troops put on board this little fleet, did not exceed one thouſand, two hundred and ſeventy, excluſive of mariners, to the number of ſeven hundred; but two hundred of theſe forces were ſent ſick on ſhore, before the armament ſailed from Dunkirk; and in their voyage between Gottenburgh and Bergen, they loſt company of the Begon, during a violent ſtorm. The ſeverity of the weather detained them nineteen days at Bergen, at the expiration of which, they ſet ſail for the weſtern iſlands of Scotland, and diſcovered the northern parts of Ireland, in the latter end of January.

THUROT's intention was to make a deſcent upon Derry; but before this deſign was executed, the weather growing tempeſtuous, and the wind blowing off ſhore, Thurot

Thurot was driven out to ſea, and in the night he loſt ſight of the Marante, which never joined him after. After being tempeſt-toſt for ſome time, and expoſed to a very ſcanty allowance of proviſions, Thurot's officers requeſted him to return to France, leſt they ſhould all periſh by famine; but he did not liſten to ſuch a propoſal, and frankly told them he could not return to France without having made ſome effort for the ſervice of his country; nevertheleſs in hopes of procuring ſome refreſhment he ſteered to the iſland of Iſla, belonging to Scotland, where the troops were landed, and here they found black cattle, and a ſmall ſupply of oatmeal for which they paid a reaſonable price; and it muſt be acknowledged Thurot himſelf behaved with great moderation and generoſity.

While this ſpirited adventurer laboured under theſe wants and difficulties, his arrival in thoſe ſeas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were ſtationed along the coaſts of Scotland and Ireland; and beſides commodore

dore Boys's ſquadron, who ſailed to the northward, on purpoſe to purſue the enemy, other ſhips of war, were ordered to ſcour the Briſtol channel, and cruiſe between Scotland and Ireland. As ſoon as the weather permitted, Thurot, to purſue his deſtination, ſailed from Iſla to the Bay of Carrickfergus, and made all the neceſſary preparations for a deſcent; which was accordingly effected with ſix hundred men, on the twenty-firſt of February. Lieutenant Colonel Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undiſciplined men, at Carrickfergus, having been informed that three ſhips had anchored about two miles and a half from the caſtle, which was ruinous and defenceleſs, immediately detached a party to make obſervations, and ordered the French priſoners there confined, to be removed to Belfaſt. In the mean time, the enemy landed without oppoſition, and advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, and the ſituation of the commander would allow.

A regular attack was carried on, and a ſpirited defence made; but at length Colonel

Jennings was obliged to retire to the caſtle, which, however, was in all reſpects untenable; for beſides a breach in the wall, near fifty feet wide, he found himſelf deſtitute of proviſions and ammunition. Nevertheleſs, he repulſed the aſſailants in their firſt attack, even after the gate was burſt open, and ſupplied the want of ſhot with ſtones and rubbiſh. But after a vain effort, the colonel and his troops, were conſtrained to ſurrender, on condition that they ſhould not be ſent priſoners to France, but be ranſomed by ſending thither an equal number of French priſoners from Great Britain or Ireland: that the caſtle ſhould not be demoliſhed, nor the town of Carickfergus plundered nor burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation ſhould furniſh the French troops with neceſſary proviſions. One circumſtance that attended this engagement deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity, as an inſtance of that courage, united with humanity, which conſtitutes true heroiſm.

While the French and Engliſh were hotly engaged in one of the ſtreets, a little child

child ran playfully between them, having no idea of the danger to which it was expoſed; a common ſoldier belonging to the French, ſeeing the life of this poor innocent at ſtake, grounded his piece, advanced deliberately between the lines of fire, took up the child in his arms, conveyed it to a place of ſafety; then returning to his place, reſumed his muſket, and renewed his hoſtility. Such inſtances of humanity do honour to man, and ought to be recorded.

THUROT after this exploit, did not advance farther into the country; a meaſure which indeed he could not have undertaken with any ſafety; for by this time a conſiderable body of regular forces was aſſembled; and the people of Ulſter manifeſted a ſpirit of loyalty and fortitude on the occaſion. They flocked in numbers to Belfaſt, to offer their ſervices to repel the invaders. Theſe circumſtances being known to Thurot, as well as the defeat of Conflans, which he had alſo learned, obliged him to reimbark with ſome precipitation, after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contri-

bution. But the fate he eſcaped on land he ſoon met with at ſea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinſale, and had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the courſe of the war, by many acts of valour, was informed by a diſpatch from the Duke of Bedford, that three of the enemy's ſhips lay at anchor, in the bay of Carrickfergus; thither Elliot inſtantly ſteered his courſe in the ſhip Æolus, acompanied by the Pallas and Brilliant, under the command of Captains, Clements and Logie. On the twenty eight of February, they deſcried the enemy in ſight of the Iſle-of-Man, and gave them chace. About nine in the morning, Elliot in his own ſhip engaged the Belliſle, commanded by Thurot; although much his ſuperior in ſtrength of men, number of guns and weight of metal. In a ſhort time his companions were alſo engaged with Thurot's two other ſhips.

After a very hot action, maintained with great ſpirit, on all ſides for an hour and an half, Elliot's Lieutenant boarded the Belliſle, and ſtriking her colours with his own hand, ſhe

ſhe ſubmitted; the other ſhips were alſo ſoon taken, and Elliot conveyed his prizes into Ramſay Bay, in the Iſle-of-Man, in order that they might be repaired. Although the Belliſle was very leaky, and had loſt her boltſprit, miſen-maſt, and main-yard, yet the victory would not have been ſo eaſily obtained, had not the brave Thurot fallen, during the action. The victor had not even the conſolation to perform the laſt offices to his valiant enemy; for his body was thrown into the ſea, by his own men, in the hurry of the engagement. The loſs of the Britiſh did not exceed forty men, killed and wounded—whereas, above three hundred of the French were killed or diſabled.

The ſervice performed by Elliot on this occaſion, was conſidered ſo eſſential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the Iriſh houſe of commons were unanimouſly voted to the victors of Thurot, as well as to Colonel Jennings, for his ſpirited conduct at Carrickfergus; and the freedom of the city of Cork, was preſented in ſilver boxes, to Captains Elliot, Clements and Logie. The

name of Thurot was become terrible to all the mercantile seaports of Great Britain and Ireland; wherefore, the defeat and capture of his armament were celebrated with as great and hearty rejoicings, as the most important victory could have produced.

It being our wish to omit no opportunity of doing justice to the valour of Irishmen, we presume that the bravery of five Hibernians, and a boy, belonging to the crew of a ship from Waterford, merits recording The ship, on her return from Bilboa, laden with brandy and iron, having being taken by a French privateer off Ushant, about the middle of April, in this year, the captors removed the master and all the hands, except these five men and the boy, who were left to assist nine French men in navigating the vessel to France.

These brave Irishmen concerted a plan for their deliverance, and executed it with success. Four of the French mariners being below decks, three aloft, among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck,

Brien

Brien who conducted the enterprise, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at the other mariner who walked the deck, but having missed his aim, he knocked him down with the but-end of the pistol. At the same time he hollowed to his companions below, who attacked the enemy with their broad swords, and soon compelled them to submit: they then came on deck, and closed the hatches. Brien and his associates being now in possession of the quarter deck, those that were aloft called for quarters, and surrendered without opposition. The Irish men having obtained a complete victory, almost without bloodshed, and having secured the prisoners, a new difficulty occurred. Neither Brien nor his friend could read or write, nor knew any thing of navigation; but supposing his course to be North, he steered at venture, and the first land he made was contiguous to Youghal, where he happily arrived with his prisoners.

As no subject engrossed so much the conversation and passions of the public, at this time, as the case of Lord George Sackville, we shall beg leave to convey the reader to

Gree

Great Britain, for the purpoſe of giving him a ſketch of his lordſhip's caſe. Lord George Sackville, had by this time reſigned his command in Germany, and returned to England, the country of all others, it would be his intereſt to ſhun, if he were really guilty of the imputation now alledged againſt his character. With the news of the battle of Minden, the defamation of this officer arrived. He was accuſed of having diſobeyed Prince Ferdinand's orders, relative to the battle of Minden, and his conduct was ſtigmatized in many particulars.

THIS vague charge, kindled up a blaze of indignation againſt Lord George Sackville, amongſt the people of England. Lord George, impatient of the imputation attached to his character, ſolicited to be tried by a court martial, which was granted. On the trial it appeared, that ſo many contradictory orders had been iſſued by Prince Ferdinand, that Lord George could not with any certainty execute any of them, until he reſorted in perſon to the prince, to receive commands from his own lips—Theſe orders he immediately executed with as much exertion

exertion as was poſſible on ſuch an occaſion. The court-martial after hearing of evidence, gave judgment in theſe words. "The court, upon due conſideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that Lord George Sackville is guilty of having diſobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, whom he was by his commiſſion and inſtructions directed to obey as commander in chief, according to the rules of war, and it is the farther opinion of this court, that the ſaid Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to ſerve his majeſty in any military capacity whatſoever."

THIS ſentence was confirmed by the king, who to complete the diſgrace of this unfortunate general, in council, called for the council book and ſtruck the name of Lord George Sackville out of the liſt of privy counſellors.

THE people of Great Britain, naturally impatient and clamorous have been too much indulged with court martials and diſmiſſion, which tend only to render their military commanders

commanders raſh and precipitate; the populace more licentious and intractable, and to diſgrace the national character. The imputations levelled at Lord George Sackville by the multitude, and circulated with ſo much induſtry and clamour, ought to be conſidered as a mob accuſation which the braveſt men, even the great Duke of Marlborough, could not eſcape; it ought to be received as a dangerous ſuſpicion, which ſtrikes at the root of character, and may blaſt that honour in a moment, which the ſoldier had acquired in a long courſe of painful ſervice, at the continual hazard of his life. We ought to diſtruſt it as a malignant charge altogether inconſiſtent with the former conduct of the perſon accuſed, as well as with his ſubſequent impatience and perſeverance in demanding a trial to which he never would have been otherwiſe called; a trial although his life was at ſtake, and his cauſe cried down, he ſuſtained with ſuch courage, fortitude and preſence of mind, as even his enemies themſelves could not help admiring.

THIS ſummer was diſtinguiſhed by another trial ſtill more remarkable. Laurence, Earl Ferrers, a nobleman of a violent ſpirit, who had committed many outrages, and in the opinion of all who knew him, had given manifold proofs of inſanity, at length perpetrated the murder of his own agent a Mr. Johnſon, for which he was tried condemned and executed at Tyburn as a common malefactor. Homicide is the reproach of Great Britain; it is probable there is ſomething in the climate that diſpoſes the natives to this inhuman crimes. Certain it is, high paſſions will break out into the moſt enormous violences in that country where they are leaſt controlled by the reſtraint of regulation and order; and it is equally certain that in no civilized country under heaven is there ſuch a relaxation of diſcipline, either religious or civil as in England.

WHILE the Britiſh arms triumphed in every effort tending to the intereſt and proſperity of the nation, an event occurred, which for a moment obſcured the ſplendor of Great Britain's glory and triumphs; and could not but be very alarming to thoſe German allies, whom

whom her liberality had enabled to ſupport an expenſive and bloody war, of caprice and ambition. On the twenty fifth day of October, George II. without any previous diſorder, was in the morning ſuddenly ſeized with the agony of death, at the palace of Kenſington.

He had riſen at the uſual hour, drank his Chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as he was anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; he then opened the window of his apartment and finding the weather was ſerene, and calm, declared he would walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this declaration, while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor; the noiſe of the fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, where he deſired in a faint voice, that the Princeſs Amelia might be called; but before ſhe had reached the apartment, he had expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; for his malady was beyond the power of art. When the ſurgeons opened the cavity of the cheſt, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood

blood diſcharged through the aperture, into the ſurrounding pericordium, ſo that he muſt have died inſtantaneouſly, in conſequence of the effuſion of blood. A rupture of this nature appears the more remarkable, as it happened to a prince of a ſound conſtitution, unaccuſtomed to exceſs, and far advanced beyond that period of life, when the blood might be ſuppoſed to flow with a dangerous impetuoſity.

THUS died George II. at the age of ſeventy-ſeven, after a reign of thirty-four years, remarkable by a variety of important events, and diverſified with a viciſſitude of character. He is ſaid to have been extremely addicted to paſſion, yet ſoon appeaſed; in domeſtic œconomy he was frugal, temperate, regular, and ſo methodical in every department of it, that he attended to objects which perhaps a great and magnanimous prince had better overlook. He was fond of military parade; and perſonally brave. He loved war as a ſoldier, and ſtudied it as a ſcience.

WE ſhall not attempt to diſplay the extent of his abilities, nor the ſplendor of his virtues:

would we had grounds to enlarge on his munificence and liberality, his generous regard to genius and learning! His government ſeldom deviated from the inſtitutions of law; or interfered with the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice. His public character was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by a predilection for his native country, and a ſteady attention to the political intereſts of the Germanic body. To theſe principles he moſt rigidly adhered, during the whole courſe of his life; and when the blood and treaſure of the Britiſh Empire were ſacrificed to theſe conſiderations, perhaps we ought not to cenſure the prince ſo much, who no doubt, was actuated by the impulſe of natural affection, as we ſhould deteſt a ſucceſſion of venal miniſters; all of whom in their turn devoted themſelves totally to the gratification of this paſſion of partiality, which proved, prejudicial in the extreme to the real intereſt of this nation, as well as to that of the Britiſh dominions. During this reign, a ſtanding army was, by force of miniſterial influence, engrafted on the conſtitution.

VENALITY and corruption, made profeſſed patriots reſign the principles they had long endeavoured to eſtabliſh. The management of the nation was conſigned to miniſters in general, as deficient in knowledge as they were in integrity, and who by their ignorance and preſumption, reduced the country to the verge of ruin. However, we may venture to aſſert that George II. was as popular as any other prince at the time of his deceaſe. The Engliſh, as well as Iriſh are naturally warm and impetuous, and in generous natures, affection is as apt as any other paſſions to run riot.

THE ſudden death of the king was deplored by many, as a national misfortune; for no other cauſe probably, but that the kingdom was deprived of him at a critical juncture, while implicated in an expenſive and dangerous war, of which he had been perſonally the chief mover and ſupport. They knew the burthen of royalty devolved on a young prince, who, although, he had attained the age of maturity, had never been admitted to any ſhare of the adminiſtration, nor made acquainted with any of the views or ſchemes of the cabinet. Thus the real charac-

ter

of the young king was very little known to the generality of the people. Wherefore great doubts and apprehenſions were entertained by the nation, on this account; but all theſe gloomy fears were ſhortly diſpelled, and vaniſhed like miſts before the morning ſun; while the people enjoyed the heartfelt pleaſure of ſeeing their loſs repaired in ſuch a manner as fully ſatisfied the moſt ſanguine wiſh of every friend of his country.

The commerce of this kingdom encreaſed little during this reign, the neceſſities of government, the monopolizing ſpirit of Great Britain, together with the continual augmentation of the public debt, obliged the legiſlature to hamper trade with manifold and grievous impoſitions.

The powers of the human mind were fully and freely exerciſed during this reign. Conſiderable progreſs was made in mathematics and aſtronomy, Natural philoſophy became a general ſtudy, and the new doctrine of electricity grew into faſhion, The clergy were in general learned, pious and exemplary,

plary, eccleſiaſtical merit was not altogether confined to the eſtabliſhed clergy, many inſtances of extraordinary genius, and unaffected piety and moderation having appeared among the diſſenting and catholic clergy of Ireland.

In this reign, literary genius aroſe almoſt ſpontaneouſly, for though neglected by the great, it flouriſhed under the protection of a public, who had pretenſions to taſte, and piqued themſelves on encouraging merit. Candidates for literary fame appeared even in the higher ſphere of life, embelliſhed by the nervous ſtile, ſuperior ſenſe and extenſive erudition of a Corke, by the delicate taſte, the poliſhed muſe, and tender feelings of a Lyttleton,

The genius of Cervantes was transfuſed into the novels of Fielding, who painted the characters and ridiculed the follies of life, with equal ſtrength, humour and propriety. Hiſtory and geography were cultivated by many writers of profound abilities; among theſe we diſtinguiſh the learned and elegant Robertſon, and above all, the pene-

trating, ingenious, and comprehenſive Hume, a firſt rate writer, whether we conſider him as an hiſtorian or a philoſopher, nor let us forget the merit ſo conſpicuous in the works of Campbell, diſtinguiſhed for candour, intelligence, and preciſion, and Johnſon, who was inferior to none, in philoſophy and claſſical learning.

NEVER was the thirſt after knowledge ſo great, or literary merit more eſteemed than at this period, by the bulk of the people; but it was neither countenanced nor attended to by the throne, nor indulged by the liberality of particular patrons. The reign of Queen Anne, was propitious to the fortunes of men of genius, who lived in all the happy pride of independence, while in the ſucceeding reigns; many whoſe merit was univerſally acknowledged, remained during their lives, expoſed to all the ſtorms of indigence, and all the ſtings of mortification.

QUEEN ANNE, countenanced learning. She converſed with Newton, and correſponded with Leibnitz. She took pains to acquire popularity, and the court was animated with a freedom

a freedom of ſpirit and vivacity, which rendered it at once brilliant and agreeable. At her death, that ſpirit languiſhed, and an entire ceſſation of gaiety and good humour enſued. It was ſucceeded by a ſullen calm, an ungracious and inſipid reſerve.

To the honour of Ireland, the virtues of benevolence and charity, are as conſpicuous as in any part of the globe; witneſs, the numerous hoſpitals and infirmaries throughout the kingdom in general, but in Dublin in particular; often eſtabliſhed by the humanity of individuals, and ſupported by voluntary contributions and parliamentary grants. Of equal, and perhaps ſuperior merit, is another charitable inſtitution, which recently took effect in the metropolis—We allude to the Magdalen Aſſylum. We ſcarce know whether moſt to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent inſtitution. A ſmall number of humane individuals, deeply affected with the ſituation of common proſtitutes, who are certainly the moſt forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous and humane reſolution in their favour. They juſtly conſidered that many of thoſe

unhappy creatures, ſo wretched in themſelves, and ſo productive of miſchief to ſociety; had been ſeduced to vice in their tender years, by the perfidious artifice of the other ſex, or the violence of unruly paſſion, before they had acquired experience to guard againſt the one, or foreſight to perceive the fatal conſequences of the other. That the jewel, reputation, being thus loſt, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with ſhame and diſgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard and aſſiſtance; that, ſtung by ſelf conviction, inſulted with reproach, denied the opportunity of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence and maddened with deſpair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were expoſed to the dreadful viciſſitudes of miſery and the moſt torturing pangs of reflection; that whatever remorſe they might feel, or however they might abominate their own vice, or wiſh for an opportunity of amendment, they were altogether deſtitute of the means of reformation, they were not only deprived of all poſſibility of benefiting by thoſe precious moments

of repentance, and becoming once more uſeful members of ſociety, but obliged, in order to procure a wretched ſubſiſtence, to perſevere in the habits of proſtitution, and act as the inſtruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating diſeaſe and profligacy, in deſtroying the bodies, corrupting the minds, and poiſoning the morals of their fellow creatures.

Moved by ſympathy and commiſeration this truly virtuous and humane band of individuals, provided a comfortable aſylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for ſhelter from the haunts of vice, the miſeries of life, and the contempt of mankind; where they might enjoy the ſalutary ſentiments of remorſe, make their peace with heaven, habituate themſelves to induſtry and temperance, and be profitably re-united to ſociety, from which they had been ſo unhappily diſſevered.

At this period the ſtate of our finances was rather proſperous. The entire charge and debt of Ireland amounted to 1,318,263l. The total credit of the nation,

nation, was then 1,567,686l. conſequently the nation was then in credit 249,423l.

FROM the Revolution to the preſent period, many laws have paſſed, as the bill of rights the toleration act, the act of ſettlement with its conditions, which aſſerted our liberties in more clear and emphatical terms; and regulated the ſucceſſion of the crown by parliament, as the exigences of religious, and civil freedom required, and alſo confirmed and exemplified the doctrine of reſiſtance, when the executive power attempts to ſubvert the conſtitution; and likewiſe maintained the ſuperiority of the laws above the king, by pronouncing this diſpenſing power to be illegal and unconſtitutional; with many other uſeful and neceſſary laws and regulations. Yet, though theſe proviſions have, in appearance, nominally reduced the ſtrength of the executive magiſtrate to a much lower ebb than in the preceding period; if on the other hand, we throw into the oppoſite ſcale, the vaſt acquiſition of force ariſing from the riot act, the annual expedience of a ſtanding army, and the great encreaſe of perſonal attachment

tachment ariſing from the magnitude of the national debt and of patronage; we ſhall find, that the crown has gradually and imperceptibly, acquired perhaps more in influence, than it has apparently loſt in prerogative.

DURING this period many efforts were made to unite Ireland with Great Britain, as England and Scotland are united, but ſuch ſchemes proved abortive as it is to be hoped they ever will, if ever they ſhould be attempted. In many inſtances the crown wiſhed to be totally independent of the parliament and to render the meeting of it leſs frequent. When the Duke of Devonſhire was lord lieutenant in 1729, an attempt was made to procure the ſupplies for twenty one years, and, ſtrange to mention, this infamous attempt, was defeated only by a majority of one voice. Such meaſures were calculated to ſupercede the neceſſity of convoking parliaments. But at this time parliaments were continued from the commencement of each reign to the demiſe of the king, wherefore Ireland might juſtly be ſaid to have legiſlators, but not repreſentatives; and the effects of bribery and corruption were viſible and notorious. The

ſyſtem

ſyſtem of bribing the legiſlature was introduced by Sir Robert Walpole, in Great Britain, and its baneful conſequences to the real intereſt of England and Ireland, are not completely eradicated at this day.

THE factions of Whig and Tory, were the cauſe of much ferment and uneaſineſs in the ſtate, and religion was often made the pretext for cruelty, oppreſſion, and intolerance; yet, notwithſtanding all theſe conſiderations, the Iriſh were peaceable, loyal, and ſtrictly amenable, to the laws. During all the Pretender's attempts upon Great Britain, no diſturbance, took place in Ireland; on the contrary, the Iriſh manifeſted a ſpirit of loyalty and attachment to their ſovereign ſcarcely to be paralleled under ſimilar circumſtances; at a time when their affections were only weaned from the cauſe of James, and when they laboured under reſtrictions and penalties diſtreſſing to humanity, and diſgraceful to the legiſlators. Thoſe acts of ſeverity were however in ſome meaſure juſtified, by the policy of the times, and the nature of the government, but their total abolition is a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed for, by every

every liberal mind, and real well-wiſher to the happineſs and proſperity of Ireland.

In the ſecond year of Queen Anne's reign, the intereſt of money was reduced from 10, to 8 per cent. and in the eighth year of George I. it was lowered from eight, to ſeven per cent. and in the fifth year of the reign of George II. it was ſtill farther reduced, to ſix per cent. per annum.

The convocation in their proceedings became ſo troubleſome to government, that king George I. thought proper to put a ſtop to their ſitting, by a prorogation; and ſince that period, the convocation, were not permitted either to ſit or to tranſact buſineſs. But by way of compenſation, the clergy were allowed to vote on general elections, a right which they did not before enjoy. For the ſake of many of our readers, we beg leave to inform them, that the convocation we are ſpeaking of, differed conſiderably from the eccleſiaſtical ſynods of other chriſtian kingdoms; thoſe conſiſting entirely of biſhops, whereas with us the convocation was the miniature of a parliament, wherein the arch-biſhop preſided

preſided with regal ſtate; the upper houſe of convocation repreſented the houſe of lords as compoſed of biſhops; and the lower houſe compoſed of repreſentatives of the ſeveral dioceſes at large, and of each particular chapter therein, reſembled the houſe of commons, with its knights of the ſhire and burgeſſes.

THIS conſtitution is aſcribed to the policy of Edward the I. of England, who thereby at one and the ſame time, let in the inferior clergy, to the privilege of framing eccleſiaſtical canons, (which before they had not) and alſo, introduced a method of taxing eccleſiaſtical benefices, by conſent of convocation. It would be a taſk worthy of a man of abilities, to trace the ſucceſſive alterations that took place in our ſyſtem of government, and alſo to point out the eſtabliſhed practice of the age, and the maxims of adminiſtration, which at each particular period were prevalent and univerſally aſſented to, as being the only rule of government, which is intelligible, or carries any degree of authority with it.

A PRODUCTION

A PRODUCTION of this nature might be particularly uſeful to us, who have happily eſtabliſhed the moſt perfect and accurate ſyſtem of liberty, as it would teach us to cheriſh our preſent conſtitution, from a compariſon, or contraſt, with the condition of former ages. It would be curious, by exhibiting to us the remote and commonly feint and diſfigured originals, of the moſt finiſhed and moſt noble inſtitutions, and by inſtructing us in the great mixture of accident, which commonly concurs with a ſmall ingredient of wiſdom and foreſight, in erecting the complicated ſervice of the moſt perfect government. It would alſo, render us cautious of appealing to the practice of our anceſtors, or regarding the maxims of rude and uncultivated ages, as the certain rules for our preſent conduct.

[*End of the firſt Volume.*]

A VIEW
OF
IRISH AFFAIRS
SINCE THE
REVOLUTION OF 1688;
TO THE CLOSE OF THE
PARLIAMENTARY SESSION of 1795;
WITH
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,
AND A
PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY JAMES MULLALLA, L.L.B.—F.R.S.

VOL. II.

STATUI RES GESTAS, POPULI ROMANI, CARPTIM UTI QUÆQUE MEMORIA DIGNA VIDEBANTUR PERSCRIBERE: EO MAGIS, QUOD MIHI A SPE, METU, PARTIBUS REIPUBLICÆ, ANIMUS LIBER ERAT
SALLUST.

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ERRATA.

Vol. I.—Page 8,—Line 20. for *reviſing* read *reviving*—p. 15. l. 4 for *reverſe* r. *reverſe*—p 34, l. 9, for *commiſſionſon* r. *commiſſions*, on—p. 57, l. 20 for *exertation* r, *exhortations*—p. 58, l. 25 for *waited* r, *wanted*—p. 60, l. 20, for *manuvres*, r. *manœuvres*—p. 77, l. 16. for *on* r. *not*—p. 98, l. 10, for *arange*. r. *arrange*—p. 111, l. 17, for *enemies*, r. *enemy's*—p. 149, l. 4, for *Tarber*, r. *Tarbert*—p. 164, l. 1, *inſert a ſemicolon after barrenneſs, and dele ſemicolon after be*—p. 166, l. 14.—for *priveleges*, r. *privileges*—p. 195, l. 23. for *accupied*, r. *occupied*—p. 196, l. 12, for *be* r. *ſhe*—p. 221, l. 17, for *In* r. *On*—p. 288, l. 12, for *Breaſt* r. *Breſt* p. 315, l. 13, for *crimes* r. *crime*.

Vol. II.—Page 13, l. 2, for *direction* r. *dereliction*—p 56, l. 25, for *remove*. r. *remove*—p. 75, l. 11, for *Foſter*. r. *Forbes*—p. 76, l. 19, after *expence*, inſert *and that*—p. 95, l. 17, after parliament ſubſtitute a *Comma* for the *period*—p. 106, l. 23, for *his*, r. *its*—p. 108, l. 11, for *ruin*, r. *vain*—p. 110, l. 8, for *reſtraining* r. *reſtrained*—p. 176, l. 7, for *preſenting*, r. *preventing*—p. 199, l. 17, for *diſſent*, r. *diſſenters*—p. 211, l. 22, for *place*, r. *peace*,—p. 287, l. 25, after *that*, inſert *men*—p. 238, l. 28, *dele* the word *whole*.—p. 288, l. 16, for *ed*, r. *ends*

A

VIEW

OF

IRISH AFFAIRS, &c.

CHAP. IX.

Low ſtate of our Trade, Manufactures and Commerce, previous to the Acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty—Cauſe of the Diſturbances in the North and South, with their Effects—Impolicy of the Houſe of Commons, with reſpect to the Reſolution of Agiſtment—The Diſtreſſes of the Nation ariſing from a cramped Commerce, and the State of the Repreſentative Body—The Bill for limiting the Duration of Parliaments to eight Years, called the Octennial Bill—An unconſtitutional Attempt to originate a Money Bill, in the Privy Council—Diſputes between the Houſe of Commons

and the Lord Lieutenant, relative to this Money Bill—Inſurgents denominated Hearts of Steel—Their Suppreſſion, and the cauſes of the Inſurrection—The Diſtreſſes of the Country during Lord Harcourt's Adminiſtration—The rupture between Great Britain and her Colonies—Its Effects on Ireland—Motions made in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, in favour of the Trade of Ireland, they miſcarry through the old illiberal policy of Great Britain—Reflections on that Subject—Aſſociations entered into againſt the Importation of Britiſh Goods—Its Salutary Effects—Origin of the Volunteers, with the good Conſequences reſulting from that Inſtitution.

GEORGE III. our preſent gracious Sovereign, aſcended the throne of his grandfather, George II. at the age of twenty two years. The whole tenor of his words and actions ſeemed deſigned to acquire and preſerve popularity; and if we are to form our judgment of the nation, by their addreſſes and congratulations, we may ſafely pronounce, that no prince was ever more bleſt with the cordial affection and attachment of his

his ſubjects. Every thing was expected from their beloved Frederick, late Prince of Wales, and ſuch was the temper of the nation, that they were diſpoſed to make the greateſt conceſſions, and to grant whatever his majeſty might think expedient, or neceſſary, for the ſupport and maintenance of the honour and dignity of the crown, as well as what the exigence of the ſtate might require.

The peace concluded at Paris, reſtored the tranquillity of Europe, and hiſtory cannot furniſh an inſtance of ſo great and ſo flouriſhing an empire, as that of George III. A few years had only elapſed from the concluſion of the peace of Paris; when an empire which before was the wonder and admiration of the univerſe, during the time of profound peace, and under an eſtabliſhed form of government, began rapidly to loſe that reſpect, and eſtimation, in which it had been formerly held. Inſtability and weakneſs, marked each ſucceſſive appointment of the miniſtry. In ſome, theſe defects were inherent in the men, in others, they aroſe from

the partial ſupport they derived from the ſource of power: whilſt among the people, clamours, outrages and diſcontents prevailed; ſo that neither the reſpect which is naturally annexed to lawful authority, nor even the intervention of military force, could ſuppreſs or check them.

In a free government, every man is individually concerned in the fate of the whole, and in ſeaſons of public danger, is actually called upon to exert his beſt endeavours for the general good of that ſociety of which he is a member. It is the peculiar glory of the Britiſh conſtitution whereſoever planted, that each ſubject is highly intereſted in ſupport of thoſe laws under which he lives happily, and by which his life, his liberty, and his property are protected, in a manner altogether unknown to the citizens of other nations. Thus, engaging a large portion of the general happineſs, he is bound to give his perſonal aſſiſtance to ſecure the permanency of that political conſtitution, by which that happineſs has been promoted, and in whatever ſtation he is, he ſhould exert his beſt endeavours for that purpoſe. A ſenſe of this

this duty has induced us to attempt to give a ſketch of the preſent reign, the annals of which will be better illuſtrated at ſome future period.

MANY years preceding the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, the loſs of trade and the decay of manufactures was univerſally complained of, in almoſt every part of Ireland; and the poverty of the nation was evidently conſpicuous, as well from the ſmallneſs of the grants, as the neglected and depopulated ſtate of the country. Every branch of our commerce was reſtricted by the narrow and illiberal policy of Great-Britain, and diſtreſs and deſpondency were but too viſible throughout the the kingdom. The baneful influence of war, and of other cauſes of national calamity are tranſient, but the evils originating from commercial reſtrictions are laſting and permanent. Tillage and manufactures were obſtructed, conſequently the decay of agriculture enſued, while a gloomy proſpect cramped the ſinews of Induſtry, and debilitated the powers of the mind.

DIS-

DISTURBANCES took place in the South and in the North, in the year 1762, which continued to the following year; thoſe diſturbances were directed merely to obtain a correction of local grievances, as to tithes and commons; but as mobs ſeldom ariſe without ſuffering ſome grievance, and never ſubſide without committing ſome injury in the proſecution of the intended reformation, many robberies and murders were committed; but men of property ſoon took the alarm; the magiſtrates united themſelves in the execution of the laws, government co-operated, and thus peace was ſoon reſtored to the country.

THE cauſes of the diſturbances in Ulſter, originated in the old road act of parliament, by which high-ways and roads were made and repaired, by the labour of the houſeholders; they at length refuſed to make more of what they called *job-roads*, and roſe almoſt to a man, in oppoſition to a uſage they had for many years acquieſced in, and from the oaken-boughs, which they wore in their hats were denominated Oak Boys. The populace being thus rouſed did not know where to ſtop, but began to ſeek a general redreſs of grievances whether real or imaginary. Their firſt object was the overſeers

overſeers of roads; the ſecond the clergy, whom they reſolved to ſtrip of their perſonal and mixed tithes; the third was the landlords, the price of whoſe lands, particularly of turf-bogs they began to regulate. Theſe, together with ſeveral inferior objects only ſerved to demonſtrate the phrenzy of the inſurrection.

In the mean time, the military were collected from the other provinces, and the tumult in the ſpace of five or ſix weeks, was quelled with the loſs of only two or three lives. In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, the obnoxious Road Act was repealed, and the future repair of roads was provided for, by levying an equal aſſeſſment on the lands of both rich and poor. The cauſe of diſcontent being thus removed, peace and tranquillity re-aſſumed their former channels. Whereas in the ſouth, where the cauſe is permanent, the effect remained. The poor, there were unjuſtly deprived of their right of commonage, by mercenary landlords, and obliged to pay exorbitant rents for their little holdings, and by this means they have become conſtant enemies to the ſtate. It is generally believed, that the landlords in the South, in order to divert the popular fury from themſelves, not only fomented

fomented, but encouraged the deluded multitude to reſiſt the payment of tithes, and wreak their vengeance on the unoffending and innocent clergy, in that part of the kingdom.

THUS the deluded people, ſmarting under the galling load of oppreſſion, impoſed on them by unfeeling and callous hearted landlords, reſorted every where for relief, but where they ought. Therefore the cauſes muſt be removed before theſe diſturbances can be altogether quelled. The clergy and the poor will be equally diſtreſſed, while the firſt landlords of the country are abſentees, the ſecond either foreſtallers or graziers, and where only the tiller of the ſoil, ſtands ſometimes in a third and ſometimes in a fourth degree, from the original proprietor. To remedy this evil, ſomething ſhould be thought of, and ſomething done. This in fact appears together with the reſolution of agiſtment, the primary and radical cauſe of the preſent diſcontents in that quarter.

WE are all happy or miſerable by compariſon. Abſtract reaſoning of right or wrong, of law or ancient uſage, will never convince an illiterate cottager, of a rich grazing county, that

that it is the real conſtitution of the realm to have the clergy ſupported out of the produce of the arable lands of this kingdom, when he looks around him, and beholds that the five thouſand beſt acres in the pariſh, contribute nothing, and that he and ſome few other wretches muſt, out of the remaining three or four hundred acres, extract, by the power of inceſſant labour, ſufficient for the ſupport of their own families, and for that of the eſtabliſhed church. The illiterate peaſant cannot ſuppoſe, that ſuch groſs partiality has the ſanction of the law; he therefore concludes that the whole is a fraud, that tithes are a burden not impoſed by law on him, or on any man; that his neighbour the rich grazier, who covers the plains all around him, with innumerable oxen, never hears the demand of the rector, nor the voice of his proctor.

These are the natural concluſions of this unfortunate man, who has not knowledge enough to diſcover, that one branch of the legiſlature has, in effect, declared one law for the rich, and another for the poor; and that it is the adopted policy of Ireland in this inſtance

ſtance, to beſtow her rewards on thoſe who moſt effectually retard her improvement, and even contribute to her deſtruction. The peaſant therefore, undefended by wealth, or by knowledge, has recourſe to violence and outrage to protect him againſt the ſuppoſed fraudulent and illegal claims of the clergy, and is actually led into treaſon and rebellion by not properly underſtanding the myſterious wiſdom of the patriotic houſe of commons, in the ſeſſion of 1735, relative to the tithe of agiſtment; a reſolution then paſſed that houſe, which ought not to remain uncancelled, as it unqueſtionably commits private injuſtice, and violates the rules and practices of every enlightened nation on ſimilar occaſions. This groſs violation of equity and good policy by time and acquieſcence has in a manner uſurped the force of law, and eſtabliſhed the dangerous precedent, that an expreſſed wiſh of one houſe of parliament, ſhall controul the rights of the ſubject and check his free appeal to the courts of juſtice, in any caſe of real or alledged property; a reſolution which took advantage of the moderation and peaceable diſpoſition of the clergy, turned their virtues againſt their intereſt, and converted their compliance into

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an abjuration of their own rights and principles, and a direction of thoſe of their ſucceſſors. In ſhort it throws a ſtain on the morals and underſtandings of our forefathers, in the ſervile ſtate of this kingdom; a ſtain which the ſounder equity and better policy of the preſent repreſentatives of emancipated Ireland, can alone waſh away.

The ill-judged policy of the ſiſter country in cramping the commerce and manufactures of Ireland, is a meaſure, which has not a ſhadow of a public and national cauſe to defend it. This monopolizing ſpirit of Great Britain, in a manner ſacrificed the trade and commerce of this country, for a ſeries of years, whereby they only enriched their natural enemies, at the expence of their friends and fellow ſubjects. The wool which has in conſiderable quantities been frequently ſmuggled into France, and manufactured there, and often ſent to oppoſe Britiſh fabrics at other foreign markets, would, only for the narrow ſpirit, above alluded to, have been manufactured in this country; the enemies of the empire, would in this inſtance loſe the benefit of it; and Ireland conſequently

quently profit by it while the wealth of the country would ultimately find its way into England. The trade of Ireland, ſuffers not only from the baneful ſpirit of Britiſh monopoly, but alſo from the nature of our taxes, and the manner of collecting them. The duties on goods imported, cauſe thoſe goods to come much higher to the conſumer, than they would do if the conſumer himſelf, was to pay the duty; and this becomes a ſtrong temptation to ſmuggle. The taxes on the neceſſaries of life, are in fact ſo many impoſts on trade and induſtry; and ſuch muſt be accounted the duties upon ſoap, coals, candles, ſalt, and leather, likewiſe, the duties on the importation of foreign raw materials, to be uſed in our own manufactures, operate as chains fetters and to ſhackle the progreſs of labour and the circulation of wealth.

These taxes were originally impoſed, under an idea of promoting the landed intereſt; but happy had it been for this country, if the gentlemen of landed property, had underſtood their intereſt before they put in practice

practice an ill-judged zeal in promoting it. Moreover the expenſive manner of collecting all our cuſtoms, is ſtill an additional diſadvantage we labour under; ſuch as the multiplication of offices, patent-places, fees, ſinecures and penſions. Theſe things create a dependence on the court, and are ſaid to ſtrengthen the hands of government; but if they do ſo in one reſpect, they weaken it much more in another.

They give two juſt cauſes for complaint; the beſt friends of the preſent eſtabliſhment, are grieved to behold meaſures which they cannot vindicate. Repeated murmurs, where there is a real foundation for them, naturally tend to alienate the affections of the maſs of the people, which, above all things, ſhould be guarded againſt; becauſe in ſeaſons of actual danger, it is the people, and not placemen and penſioners, who can ſave the government, and oppoſe themſelves againſt the invaſion of foreign, or the inſurrection of domeſtic enemies.—The want of ſubordination in the lower claſs of people, has been as injurious to commerce, as it has been to morals. Our manufacturing poor, if ſub-

ject

arrival, he was, like the reſt of his predeceſſors, complimented, careſſed, and flattered. His Excellency's vivacity and volatile diſpoſition, were extremely pleaſing to many of our countrymen, and his nocturnal revels and *bon mots*, furniſhed entertainment and converſation to the metropolis. Like Charles II. our merry Viceroy, did not aſſume the airs of royalty one hour in a month. At the commencement of his firſt ſeſſion, it however appeared manifeſt that he would not be content to be a *nominal* Viceroy. He therefore ſtripped the ariſtocracy of the power of conferring places of emolument under the crown; and he directed the channel of court favour into a multitude of little ſtreams, as not even the loweſt commiſſion in the revenue, could be diſpoſed of, without his approbation.

By theſe means the commons looked up to him, not only as the ſource, but the diſpenſer of every gratification. Although he ſeemed ſtudiouſly to deſpiſe popularity, yet he had the good fortune to attach the common people to him. The familarity of his deport-

ment

ment and ſtrong ſympathetic feelings, which often excited him to occaſional acts of generoſity, accompliſhed this, without premeditation or deſign. What principally diſtinguiſhed Lord Townſend's adminiſtration, was the bill for ſhortening the duration of parliament. The people were impatient for the meaſure, and his excellency in order to acquire popularity, at the expence of the ariſtocracy, countenanced it, and the more ſo, as he was ſtrongly impreſſed with the idea, that the bill introduced into the commons for the above purpoſe, would never be carried into effect; but, contrary to his expectations, the bill paſſed both houſes, by which the duration of our parliament was limited to ſeven years. When the bill was tranſmitted to England, it was there altered from a ſeptennial to an octennial bill; this alteration was made to damn it, as it was conceived that the Iriſh legiſlature would not accede to the alteration; but, notwithſtanding, ſo anxious was the nation for adopting the meaſure, that our parliament conceded to the alteration, and the bill paſſed into a law. This law was attended with the beſt conſequences, and encreaſed the popularity of Lord Townſend, conſide-

rably, however averſe his excellency's wiſhes might have been from a meaſure of ſuch general utility.

A. D. 1768. In purſuance of the Octennial Bill, the parliament was diſſolved and a new one elected, which met in Auguſt, 1769. In this ſeſſion, an attempt was made by government to trench upon the privileges of the commons. A money bill originating in the privy council was preſented to the commons. The bill was once read and then, with becoming, ſpirit rejected. This cauſed much heat and acrimony between the commons and the lord lieutenant, and to expreſs his indignation he repeatedly prorogued the meetings of the lower houſe until the month of February, of the year 1771. His excellency entered his proteſt upon the journals of the houſe of lords, againſt the proceedings of the commons, for rejecting the money bill originating in the privy council: for the legality of ſuch proteſts we refer our readers to the proteſt of the lords on that occaſion.

The parliament conducted themſelves with remarkable delicacy, in their ſtruggles with the

the viceroy; they gave unqueſtionable proofs of their loyalty and liberality to their ſovereign, at the time they ſhewed their ſuperiority over the meaſures of the chief governor: They not only granted his majeſty the ordinary ſupplies, but voted alſo an enormous loan; they acceded to the augmentation of the army, and enabled the king to alienate a part of the public revenues, which he had been before adviſed to alienate contrary to law. And the return made for all this was, the ſuſpenſion of an active and uncorrupted parliament for four years, without one act, except a ſupply bill, to the intimidation of future virtue, and the degradation of parliament. The conſequences were ruinous to the trade, credit and proſperity of the nation.

A. D. 1769. An inſurrection took place in the north of Ireland, this year, which, although it was not ſo general as that which happened in the year 1763, yet was more violent, as proceeding from a more peculiarly intereſting cauſe. The origin of it was this: an abſentee nobleman who enjoyed a very large eſtate in Ulſter, inſtead of ſetting it when out of leaſe for the higheſt rent,

which is the uſual mode in this kingdom, adopted a new way of letting his lands by taking large fines and ſmall rents. The occupiers of the land, however willing to give the higheſt rents were not able to pay the fines; conſequently they were diſpoſſeſſed by opulent undertakers, who, not ſatisfied with a moderate intereſt for their money, racked the rents to a pitch above the reach of the old tenant. Thus the wretched occupier, to whom long poſſeſſion had given no preference, was driven from his little habitation, unleſs he choſe to outbid every other propoſer, as the undertaker had ſet up his farm to the higheſt bidder. Upon this the people roſe againſt the foreſtallers, deſtroyed their houſes and maimed their cattle.

THESE miſerable people under the denomination of *Steel-boys*, committed many atrocities, and when driven to acts of deſperation knew not how to confine themſelves to their original object, but like the *Hearts of Oak*, became, general reformers. However the interference of the military ſoon quelled them, and on the execution of a few of their ringleaders, the former peace of the country was once more reſtored. But the cauſe of the

commotion

commotion proved extremely injurious to the intereſt of the country, as it occaſioned many thouſands of our uſeful and induſtrious natives, to emigrate to America.

THE legiſlature paſſed an act of a very odious and unconſtitutional nature, relative to the inſurgents denominated *Hearts of Steel.* It was enacted, that all perſons indicted of ſuch offences as thoſe imputed to the Hearts of Steel ſhould be tried in counties different from thoſe in which the offences were committed. The legiſlature no doubt dreaded that if the trials took place in the counties where the enormities were perpetrated, that the delinquents might be acquitted through fear of the reſentment of the populace, or a partiality in either witneſſes or jury. In purſuance of this act, many of the Hearts of Steel were ſent to Dublin, and there put on their trial for offences committed in the county of Antrim, but they were acquitted, as the mode of trial was conſidered a direct violation of a fundamental law of the conſtitution. Upon the repeal of this execrable act, ſeveral of the inſurgents were tried in their reſpective counties and executed.

THE

A. D. 1771. THE commons wiſely in the ſeſſion of 1771, turned their attention to œconomy and every poſſible retrenchment in the expenditure of the public money. They refuſed to make proviſion for certain penſions which had been granted to individuals in violation of the royal promiſe. They diſcovered groſs errors; in the public accounts. On which they arraigned and condemned the exciſe board, and ſpiritedly reſolved that the abilities and eſſential intereſts of the nation ſhould be the meaſures of the ſupply. They convinced the viceroy, that the voice of the people was too powerful for him, and however great their reverence and regard for the ſovereign might be, yet when ſtrong meaſures were attempted, the oppoſition triumphed and defeated the views of the viceroy.

HOWEVER, notwithſtanding theſe virtuous efforts, the national debt was encreaſing, and taxes accumulating to an enormous extent; the country illiberally reſtricted in every branch of its commerce, a meaſure ruinous to Ireland and really ſerviceable to the rivals, if not the enemies of Great Britain. In a ſhort time the

the conſequences were but too evident. Individuals became bankrupts, and public credit tottered on the verge of ruin. Penſions encreaſed, the revenue declined, an oppreſſive peace eſtabliſhment took place, while an enormous debt contracted by the nation, beyond all proportion, exceeding that of any former period, cramped at once the ſinews of induſtry and depreſſed the native energy of the people.

A. D. 1773. THE Harcourt adminiſtration was altogether callous to the diſtreſſed ſtate of the country and carried its parliamentary meaſures with too high an hand; and, however ſenſible the commons were of the unhappy condition of the kingdom and felt the moſt lively emotions on that account, yet, this was not the period of redreſs. In this ſeſſion, at the paſſing of the money bills, the commons clearly pointed out the impropriety and injuſtice of the Britiſh parliament, in reſtricting our trade and ſhackling our commerce, and declared that they expected a reſtoration of their rights, and an exemption from commercial reſtrictions, as the only means of ſatisfying their conſtituents for the heavy

heavy burthens impoſed during this ſeſſion of parliament. But ſtill the ſame diſpoſition towards Ireland was continued by Great Britain, notwithſtanding the ſituation of the country was truly deplorable; but Ireland was not the only complainant on this occaſion; the ſame baneful policy, that ſo materially injured this country, extended its influence to America.

A. D. 1774. THE diſpute that took place between Great Britain and America, which originated in the ſtamp act, ten years before, now drew to a criſis. The Britiſh cabinet reſolved to bind America in all caſes whatever, and nothing leſs than unconditional ſubmiſſion to this tyrannic meaſure, was required on the part of America, and to effect this, coercive meaſures were determined on, and the Britiſh premier vainly boaſted—"That he would lay America proſtrate at his feet." The Americans, with ſupplicating hands begged to avert theſe evils, and to be reſtored to the enjoyment of equal privileges with the other members of the empire. They alledged, that taxation, without their conſent, was abſolute tyranny; as

taxation

taxation and repreſentation ought to be inſeperable. In the year 1774-and-75, the Americans preſented manly, yet decent and reſpectful applications to the king, to the parliament, and to the people of England; but the manner in which they were rejected, exhibits a ſtrong picture of the pride and infatuation of the Britiſh miniſtry. War was in effect levied by the violence of the Boſton port bill, the vacation of their charter, the change of their government, and the arrival of fleets and armies to execute theſe cruel decrees. Thus American ſupplication was to be anſwered by the mouth of Britiſh cannon, and thus unoffending humility was tortured into rage, and the infancy of exiſtence made to weep.

A. D. 1775. AMERICA now, on her part, began to make vigorous preparations for the *dernier reſort*. The flame of liberty was kindled in each breaſt, and the voice of patriotiſm was echoed from pole to pole. In 1775, the tempeſt, that for a time was collecting all its fury, burſt at Boſton, and the torch of war blazed throughout the Continent of America. This was a fatal moment

moment for the honour and glory of the Britiſh empire; then indeed, to uſe the emphatic words of the late Lord Chatham, " The ſun of England ſet, to riſe no more ! "

AMERICA and England, being plunged into all the horrors of civil war, added ſtill more to the calamities of Ireland. The exportation of Iriſh linen for America, was very conſiderable; but now this great ſource of national wealth, was totally ſhut up, by a very unconſtitutional ſtretch of prerogative, under the pretext of preventing the Americans from being ſupplied with proviſions from this country. An embargo was laid on the exportation of proviſions from this kingdom, and it was continued, in reality to enable a few rapacious Britiſh contractors to make good their engagements. This embargo combined with other cauſes, which were invariable and permanent, produced the moſt melancholy effects. Wool and black cattle fell conſiderably in value, ſo alſo, did lands; and rents, in many places, could ſcarcely be collected, ſo much was public credit eſſentially injured.

A. D. 1776. NUMBERS of wretched manufacturers were reduced to extreme indigence, and would have abſolutely periſhed, were they not ſupported by public charity. Government were not at this time able to make grants, either to promote induſtry, or to relieve the national calamities, as the treaſury was nearly exhauſted. Every branch of the revenue failed, and ſuch was the poverty of the nation, that the militia law could not be carried into effect. Ireland could not pay her forces abroad, and was obliged to borrow money from England to pay thoſe at home. Our parliament was neceſſitated to raiſe money at an exorbitant intereſt. Such of the Engliſh as had eſtates in this kingdom, becoming partakers of the common calamity, together with others who had no perſonal intereſt in the kingdom, turned their ſerious attention to the deplorable ſituation of our affairs.

A. D. 1778. ACCORDINGLY a committee was appointed by the commons of Great Britain, to conſider the trade of Ireland; it was obſerved that the condition of Ireland was miſerable in the extreme; as appeared

peared evident by the reduced prices of our lands, the ruinous ſtate of our manufactures, and the general poverty of the nation. In conſequence of this, the committee of the whole houſe of commons, paſſed unanimouſly the following motions—"That the Iriſh "might be permitted to export directly to the "Britiſh plantations, or to the ſettlements on "the coaſt of Africa, all goods the produce "or the manufacture of the kingdom, wool "or woollen manufacture only excepted, or "commodities of the growth or manufactures "of Great Britain, legally imported from "that kingdom; as alſo, foreign certificate "goods, under the ſame condition. That "all the goods, the produce of any of the "Britiſh ſettlements, or of the ſettlements on "the coaſts of Africa, tobacco excepted; be "allowed to be directly imported into Ire"land. That glaſs, manufactured in Ireland, "be permitted to be exported from it, to all "places, Great Britain excepted. That cot"ton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, be "allowed to be imported into Great Bri"tain, and that Iriſh ſail cloth and cordage "ſhould have the ſame privilege."

A. D. 1778. BILLS were framed on the above-mentioned motions; but the trading and manufacturing towns of Great Britain now took the alarm; they conſidered every increaſe of the trade of Ireland, not only as prejudicial to their intereſt, but an encroachment on their rights. It was their wiſh that Iriſhmen ſhould neither be permitted to export their own commodities, nor to import thoſe of other countries. Conſequently many petitions were preſented to the Britiſh parliament againſt the intended indulgence to Ireland; many members were inſtructed to the ſame purpoſe; and thus theſe bills fell to the ground.

BY the navigation acts paſſed in the reign of Charles II. Ireland was deprived of every incentive to induſtry, and ſhut up againſt every avenue to wealth, notwithſtanding Ireland had employed her treaſury, and deſolated her land to prove her attachment and loyalty to Great Britain. For this, reſtriction and commercial bondage had been her reward. The ſmallneſs of the Iriſh taxes had been often pleaded againſt, allowing the benefits propoſed.—But if the internal opulence

lence and external advantages of both countries were compared, it would be found that Ireland paid taxes in a fourfold proportion more than Great Britain.

IRELAND was taxed beyond her ability, and was totally deſtitute of the means of payment. Wherefore, independent of all regard to juſtice and liberality, Great Britain was bound from neceſſity to remove our complaints. The trade with America was loſt, therefore it became indiſpenſibly neceſſary to unite in one point of intereſt and affection the remaining parts of the empire for their mutual preſervation and ſupport. Ireland had hitherto been paſſive, but there was danger if refuſed juſtice, that ſhe would recoil on her oppreſſors, to caſt off the yoke of thoſe who were inſenſible to her calamities, and determined to drive her to deſperation.

A. D. 1778. IN the ſeſſion of 1779, various efforts were made in the Britiſh parliament in favour of the commerce of Ireland, but they all miſcarried, through the interference of the miniſter, who had hitherto

therto taken no ſhare in the buſineſs. In the interim, matters haſtened to a criſis in this country; however the feelings of the nation were ſuſpended by the hope of relief ſo long as the affairs of Ireland were before the Britiſh parliament; but when it was found, that the Britiſh miniſter, in whom they had confided, had deſerted their cauſe, and that their hopes were deluſive, the diſcontents of the people, exaſperated by diſappointment, kindled into a flame.

Two laws paſſed the Britiſh parliament in favour of Ireland, one permitting the Iriſh to plant tobacco, the other to encourage the culture of hemp. But theſe were received with contempt, as they could be conſidered only as a mere mockery on the Iriſh nation. But a ſpirit was now kindling in the kingdom, which was ſhortly to retrieve the dignity of the country and do juſtice to its claims. Aſſociations were entered into in many parts of the kingdom, againſt the importation of Britiſh commodities, and for the encouragement of Iriſh manufactures.

In conſequence of this effort of patriotiſm, Iriſh manufactures began to revive, and the demand for Britiſh goods in a great meaſure decreaſed, which produced a diſpoſition in Great Britain, to attend to the complaints of this country, different indeed from that which Ireland had hitherto experienced. But there was a voice in favour of Ireland more diſtinctly heard, which proclaimed through the nation, the injuries we ſuſtained, and louldy demanded redreſs. In conſequence of the war with America, the Iriſh coaſts had been inſulted, and their trading veſſels unprotected, were captured by American privateers. Even the communication with great Britain was nearly obſtructed.

France had now reſolved to unite her arms to thoſe of America, which ſtill rendered the ſituation of this country more critical and precarious. There was even a probability that Ireland would be invaded, deſtitute as ſhe was of the means of defence, England from her embarraſſed ſtate was neither able nor inclined to lend us any aſſiſtance: in this alarming ſituation a few volunteer companies were formed, who choſe

their

their own officers, purchaſed their own uniform and arms, and with the aſſiſtance of perſons properly qualified, acquired the knowledge of arms and of the military art. Such was the origin of the volunteers, an inſtitution which will be long revered by every patriotic Iriſhman.

GOVERNMENT made ſome efforts to render the volunteers ſubſervient to the views of the crown, but they proved ineffectual; ſo when it was impoſſible to prevail on them to act conſonant to the wiſhes of government, it was now thought moſt prudent to treat them with confidence. Wherefore government iſſued orders to the governors of the reſpective counties in the kingdom, to diſtribute among the volunteers ſixteen thouſand ſtand of fire arms. The ſpirit of the people was at length rouzed, they felt indignant at their grievances, and the repreſentative body now ſeemed diſpoſed to act in uniſon with their wiſhes.

A. D. 1779. THE Iriſh parliament met in October of this year, and in their addreſs to his majeſty, they unanimouſly de-

clared that it was not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade only that the nation was to be ſaved from impending ruin. The ſtreets of the metropolis were lined from the parliament houſe to the caſtle, by the Dublin volunteers, when the ſpeaker carried up this addreſs to the lord lieutenant. On this occaſion the pulſe of the nation beat high; yet the hope of redreſs was accompanied with doubts, ſuſpicions and fears, leſt the ſame diſpoſition in Great Britain which had hitherto tyrannized over this kingdom ſhould render our wiſhes and expectations vain and deluſive; and by many it was conceived that nothing but compulſory means would redreſs our grievances or procure that juſtice which the infatuated policy of Great Britain had ſo long and ſo ſhamefully denied.

The nation apprehended, if the ſupplies were granted for two years, as was uſual, that Great Britain would ſtill continue her uſurpation, and by a prorogation of parliament fruſtrate all their wiſhes. Theſe ſentiments pervaded the kingdom, but in parliament the court party were averſe from the

the meaſure. From reſentment the populace of Dublin committed ſeveral acts of violence, and menaced thoſe who ſhould oppoſe it. When the matter came to be diſcuſſed, a majority of the commons ſome from principle and others from neceſſity ſupported the meaſure. A ſhort money bill therefore paſſed, and was tranſmitted to Great Britain, where however mortifying to the miniſter, it paſſed alſo; ſuch was the ſituation of the kingdom, and a critical one it certainly was, as the Iriſh were almoſt driven to deſpair. The circumſtances of Ireland were truly ſingular; ſhe had long maintained a military eſtabliſhment for internal defence, beyond her ability; of which contrary to royal faith, ſhe had been ſtripped in order to carry on the war againſt America. In this ſhe had no concern, nay its principle ſhe had reaſon to dread, leſt it ſhould be applied to the ſubverſion of her own conſtitution. In this ſtate of weakneſs, the enemies of the empire menaced her with invaſion, and when ſhe ſought protection from Britain, ſhe; was anſwered, you muſt protect yourſelves."

Thus expoſed and deſerted, Ireland was ſaved by the magnanimity of her volunteers, who from every claſs and deſcription of men, voluntarily armed and united in defence of their country. Ireland now conſcious of poſſeſſing a force and conſequence to which ſhe had hitherto been a ſtranger, applied it wiſely for the attainment of national advantages. The government had in a manner been abdicated, and the nation reſumed the powers, which the principles of the conſtitution, as well as the neceſſity of the times not only juſtified, but obliged them to. Some time before, perhaps, ſmaller matters would have gratified the Iriſh, and they would have received them with thanks, but this was not the ſeaſon for either gratitude or reconciliation, by means of partial and temporiſing meaſures. Whatever England might at preſent grant, would not be conſidered as a favour by Ireland, but merely as a matter of juſtice and right.

By this time the Britiſh miniſter finding himſelf not a little hampered by the ſhort money-bill, and alarmed at the ſpirited proceedings

ceedings of Ireland, brought forward at length his propoſitions relative to this country. Their object was to repeal the laws which prohibited the exportation of Iriſh manufactures, made of, or mixed with wool, from Ireland to any part of Europe. To repeal ſo much of the act of the nineteenth of George the II. as prohibited the importation of glaſs into Ireland, except of Britiſh manufacture, or to export glaſs from that kingdom; and alſo, to permit Ireland to export and import commodities to and from the Britiſh colonies, and the Weſt Indies, and her ſettlements on the coaſts of Africa; ſubject to ſuch regulations and reſtrictions as ſhould be impoſed by the Iriſh parliament. Bills exactly conformable to thoſe propoſitions were brought into the Britiſh Parliament, and paſſed into laws.

The pleaſure and joy, which the Iriſh manifeſted on this occaſion, were expreſſed in the moſt lively and ſenſible manner. But when the natural feelings on ſuch events ſubſided, the public mind reaſonably concluded that a free trade held by an uncertain tenure, was

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but of little uſe, and that to render it of real beneſit to the nation, it ought to have a ſolid and permanent baſis to reſt upon.

GREAT Britain repealed the laws that reſtricted our commerce from neceſſity alone, and her parliament might perhaps fetter our commerce by new and more oppreſſive reſtrictions. Wherefore in order to ſecure the advantages the Iriſh now obtained with reſpect to trade and commerce, it became abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the freedom of the conſtitution, and to oblige the ſiſter nation to abandon and renounce her uſurped claim to legiſlate for this country.

To effectuate theſe meaſures, the nation naturally looked up to the ſpirit and patriotiſm of the volunteers, and they were indefatigable in their exertions for the attainment of ſo glorious an object. The volunteers had by this time, become extremely reſpectable, and their reputation and conduct were ſuch, as entitled them to the unanimous thanks of both houſes of parliament. This together with their decency and neatneſs, contributed not a little to augment their numbers

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THE situation of Great Britain at this period, was extremely critical; without a single ally, she had to contend with the force of America, and the united branches of the house of Bourbon. The preceding summer, the French fleet rode triumphant in the British Channel. It would redound little to the honour or justice of Britain, to assert that in the hour of her weakness alone, Ireland looked up with confidence towards emancipation. The cause and effect of the American war, were replete with instruction. Oppressed Ireland seized the opportunity, and boldly declared that she was an independent kingdom, entitled by reason, by nature, and by compact, to all the privileges and immunities of a free constitution; and that no power on earth was competent to make laws to bind them, save only her king, lords and commons; and that in support of these rights, they were determined to risque their property and their lives.

A DISTINGUISHED and patriotic senator in the session of 1780, moved in the house of commons, "That no power on earth save

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king lords, and commons of Ireland, were competent to make laws to bind us; although the truth of this proposition was not denied, yet it is certain, that had the question been put on it, it would have been negatived; for at this time, not only government, but the majority of the representative body, opposed the constitutional claims and rights of the people.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Iriſh mutiny Bill made perpetual in England—The rejection of a modification of Poyning's Law, and the attempts of rendering the Judges independent—The noble Conduct of the Volunteers in Defence of the Country when menaced with an Invaſion—Their wiſe and ſteady Reſolutions for emancipating the Country—The Volunteer meeting at Dungannon on the 15th of February, 1782—A retroſpect to the Affairs of America.—The change of the Britiſh Miniſtry—Its effects on Iriſh Affairs—Several uſeful Laws enacted in favour of Ireland—The repeal of many obnoxious Laws affecting the Catholics—Diſſolution of the Iriſh Parliament byt he Earl of Northington—Independence of Americo allowed by Great Britain, and the bleſſings of Peace reſtored to Europe—The rejection of a Parliamentary Reform and protecting Duties—Mr. Orde's ſubſtitute for protecting Duties rejected—The Police Act—Orde's Education Bill ſubmitted to Parliament—Death of the Duke of Rutland—The Folly of confiding too haſtily in new Adminiſtrations—The

James Fitzgerald

—The Regency Buſineſs—Conteſts in Parliament on the Subject whether their Proceedings ſhould be by Bill or Addreſs—Reflections on the State of the Country—Departure of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Appointment of Lords Juſtices

A. D. 1780. THE Iriſh army had heretofore been regulated by an act of the Britiſh legiſlature; a mutiny bill was now introduced into the Iriſh houſe of commons, to place it under the direction of our own parliament. The bill paſſed, but was made perpetual in England. The amendment was ſubmitted to by the parliament of this country, and the bill paſſed into a law. This remedy was unqueſtionably worſe than the diſeaſe. It muſt be admitted, that the profeſſion of arms detaches men from their country, and attaches them moſt firmly to the intereſts of the crown. Standing armies therefore, cannot naturally be conſidered as the gurdians of the rights and privileges of the people, they were originally kept on foot, not only to encreaſe, but to ſecure the influence of the crown.

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A Standing army was never acknowledged by the common law, and was at all times the cauſe of ſuſpicion and jealouſy to the Engliſh parliament. This appears clearly from their mutiny bill, which was deſigned and framed as much as poſſible to reduce the army under their own controul; but in Ireland, to ſuffer his majeſty to be furniſhed with perpetual regulations for governing the army, might in proceſs of time, prove extremely inimical to the liberties of the country, and the happineſs of the people, particularly as the crown enjoys ſo conſiderable an hereditary revenue in this kingdom.

A. D. 1780. THESE ideas on the ſubject of the mutiny bill, cauſed much diſcontent among the Iriſh, but they derived no ſmall hopes from the ſpirited conduct of the parliament, on the commencement of the Carliſle adminiſtration; however, their expectations proved vain, as two patriotic meaſures were unſucceſsful in the houſe of commons, the one for obtaining a modification of Poyning's law, and the other to procure the independence

dependence of the judges. Such was the addreſs of Lord Carliſle, that he almoſt carried every meaſure agreeable to his own wiſhes, and the repeal of the obnoxious part of Poyning's law, together with all other efforts made by the minority, in favour of the country, proved abortive.

A PARTIAL compliance at this time with the wiſhes of the people, would in all probability have ſatisfied the nation, wherefore as good frequently reſults from evil, ſo the conduct of government at this time, in oppoſing the wiſhes of the Iriſh, produced that exertion which gave birth to the freedom of the country.

A. D. 1781. IN the Autumn of this year, the enemy's fleet was in the channel, and deſigned to invade Ireland. Government communicated their apprehenſions on the occaſion to the nation, and the volunteers immediately aſſembled from all parts of the kingdom; offering their aſſiſtance and ſervices, in the mean while they did duty in ſome of the garriſoned towns, inſtead of the military, whom it became expedient to call

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off to more diſtant parts of the kingdom. For theſe gallant ſervices, which undoubtedly ſaved the country from invaſion, the volunteers a ſecond time received the thanks of both houſes of parliament. But the hour of Ireland's emancipation drew nigh, for the inſolence with which popular meaſures were treated by the government, excited at length the indignation of the nation, and kindled a patriotic glow in the breaſts of the volunteers. The buſineſs commenced with the Armagh volunteers, commanded by that revered character, the Earl of Charlemont. In the month of December they aſſembled, and entered into ſpirited and conſtituional reſolutions, and appointed a meeting on the February following, to be held at Dungannon, to which meeting delegates from every volunteer aſſociation in the province of Ulſter, were earneſtly requeſted to attend. Government in the intermediate time, uſed its utmoſt influence to prevent the intended meeting; but to no effect. For on the appointed day, delegates from one hundred and forty three corps met at Dungannon, and entered ino ſeveral truly patriotic reſolutions,

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but the the chief one was, "*That the claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons, of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.*" They also agreed to a manly and spirited address to the minority in both houses of parliament, thanking them for their past exertions on behalf of their country, and exhorting and animating them to persevere as the voice of the people was with them, a voice which was unanimous, and determined to be free.

A. D. 1782. NOTWITHSTANDING, the great constitutional questions that came to be discussed in parliament were borne down, as government was still too powerful for the friends of the people: however two things occurred in the house of commons, which made a deep impression on the public mind, and contributed to forward the emancipation of the country. In a debate concerning the exclusive legislative rights of this kingdom, the only apology for British usurpation that could be made by government was the tyrannic one, that "*Power constituted right.*" A motion declaring that the commons were

were the repreſentatives of the people, was negatived at the ſame time, by connecting both theſe circumſtances together, Iriſhmen naturally and juſtly inferred, that they were not only ſlaves to Britiſh deſpotic principles, but that their repreſentatives in parliament had renounced all connexion with them, as not conſidering themſelves the choſen guardians of their liberty and property. By theſe means however, the general diſcontent and diſſatisfaction of the nation were aggravated and encreaſed; and the Dungannon reſolutions were adopted with an enthuſiaſtic zeal by the volunteers of every other province in the kingdom, and now even the friends of adminiſtration were irreſiſtibly borne down by the torrent, and began to manifeſt themſelves as the zealous champions of the rights and liberties inherent in the conſtitution of the country.

Let us for a moment tranſport ourſelves to the continent of America. We now behold the Britiſh colonies in a new point of view. They had formally renounced their dependence on the mother country, and placed their independence on the ſhoulders of France, a

great and powerful nation. The combined forces of France and America were in a manner every where triumphant, and the capture of Lord Cornwallis in the year 1781, ſecured the independence of America. This powerful ſucceſs on the continent of America, effected the removal of the Britiſh miniſtry, who firſt kindled the flames of war, and by their raſh and imprudent counſels, brought diſgrace on the arms of Great Britain, deſtroyed her people, diſmembered her empire and added to her debt the addition of 100,000,000 Sterling. How fatal are the effects of pride, ambition, vain glory, and revenge! and ought we not to bluſh for the depravity and corruption of human nature that cauſes ſo much blood and treaſure to be expended, in order to ſecure the rights of mankind, and lay the baſis of ſocial happineſs! Theſe conſiderations ſhould operate powerfully on the minds of potentates and miniſters, and render them more cautious how they invade, or infringe on the rights of their people.

A. D. 1782. The price with which America purchaſed freedom has impreſſed attentive nations with ſurpriſe, and ſet many

many of them upon eſtimating its value. Their ſucceſs animated all thoſe who ſighed for liberty, and in conſequence of the revolution in America, millions of ſlaves in Europe hoped to be treated with more lenity and moderation, little did Lewis think, when he was eſtabliſhing the independence of America, that he was preparing the axe for his own annihilation, and the ſubverſion of the government, laws, religion, and morals of his country.

The change of the Britiſh miniſtry was attended with one circumſtance equally advantageous both to Great Britain and Ireland, as it brought men into power, who were diſtinguiſhed by more political wiſdom and actuated by more liberal principles. In April of this year, the Duke of Portland was appointed lord lieutenant of this kingdom and ſhortly after his arrival, he ſent a meſſage to parliament, informing them, that he had it in command from his majeſty to acquaint them, that his majeſty was concerned to find that diſcontents and jealouſies prevailed among his loyal ſubjects of Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance; he therefore recommended it to parliament to take the ſame into

their ſerious conſideration, in order to come to ſuch a final adjuſtment, as would afford mutual ſatisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britian and Ireland.

BOTH houſes of parliament, unanimouſly repreſented their ſentiments and thoſe of the nation, concerning the grievances of the kingdom, to his majeſty, in a dutiful and loyal addreſs. And after enumerating their grievances, they conclude, by aſſuring his majeſty, that they were the more confident in the hope of redreſs, as they were ready to ſhare with Britain her freedom, and to ſhare her fate.

SHORTLY after, the lord lieutenant, in his ſpeech, informed both houſes of parliament, that he was enabled by the magnanimity of the king, and the wiſdom of the Britiſh parliament, to aſſure them, that immediate attention had been paid to their repreſentations, and that the Britiſh legiſlature had concured in a reſolution to remove the cauſes of their diſcontents, and united in a deſire to gratify every wiſh expreſſed in their late addreſs to the throne; and that in the mean time, his majeſty was graciouſly diſpoſed

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to give his royal aſſent to acts to prevent the ſuppreſſing of bills in the Iriſh privy council, and to limit the mutiny bill to two years.

In conſequence of this gracious intimation, the commons ſent a moſt loyal and dutiful addreſs, they acquaint his majeſty, that they conceive an unqualified repeal of the ſixth of George I. to be a meaſure of conſummate wiſdom and juſtice ſuitable to the dignity and conſequence of both nations, exalting their character, and furniſhing a perpetual pledge of their mutual amity. They alſo inform his majeſty, that they would prepare bills to ſatisfy the wiſhes of his people, and aſſure him, that when gratified in theſe particulars, no conſtitutional queſtion would any longer exiſt to interrupt the harmony that ought to ſubſiſt between the two nations, and that Great Britain having approved their firmneſs, might alſo rely on their affection.

The lord lieutenant received the thanks of both houſes of parliament for his activity and zeal in this momentous buſineſs. The commons, in proof of their loyalty and gratitude,

voted 100,000l. to his majeſty, to enable him to raiſe 20,000 men for the navy. They likewiſe voted 5000 troops from our eſtabliſhment, to be ſent to the aſſiſtance of Great Britain.

PREVIOUS to the cloſe of this ſeſſion of parliament, the following bills received the royal aſſent. A bill to impower the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors, and council of this kingdom for the time being, to certify all ſuch bills, and none other, as both houſes of parliament ſhould deem expedient to be enacted in this kingdom, to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, under the great ſeal of Ireland, without addition, diminution or alteration, that all ſuch bills, thus tranſmitted and returned under the great ſeal of Great Britain, and none other, to paſs in the parliament of Ireland. No bill neceſſary to be certified into Great Britain as a cauſe or conſideration for holding a parliament in this kingdom. A bill to limit the mutiny act to two years, and to repeal the other obnoxious parts of the late act. A bill enacting, that from henceforth all erroneous judgments, orders and decrees ſhall be finally examined

examined and reformed in the high court of parliament in this kingdom only; and that for this purpoſe, the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors, ſhall and may grant warrants for ſealing writs of error returnable into parliament. An *habeas corpus* law, and one for rendering the judges independent of the crown, were alſo enacted. And, as many held their eſtates in this kingdom by virtue of Engliſh laws, in order to quiet their minds, an act paſſed to impreſs theſe Britiſh ſtatutes with the ſanction of the Iriſh parliament.

The following laws were enacted in favour of the catholics. In the year 1778, the catholics were impowered to take leaſes for any term of years not exceeding 999 years, or any number of lives, not exceeding five. They were now enabled to purchaſe or take by grant, limitation, deſcent, or deviſe, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in this kingdom, and to diſpoſe of them by will or otherwiſe, to deſcend according to the courſe of common law, deviſable and transferable in like manner as the lands of proteſtants. By the ſame law, certain penal acts reſpecting the hearing

hearing and celebrating of maſs, forbidding catholics to keep an horſe of above the value of 5l. empowering grand juries to levy from them in their reſpective diſtricts, money to the amount of ſuch loſſes as were ſuſtained by the depredations of privateers, and requiring to provide proteſtant watchmen in towns, and forbidding them to inhabit the city of Limerick or ſuburbs, were all repealed. So much of former acts as forbade them to teach ſchool publickly, or to inſtruct youth of their own profeſſion in private, was alſo repealed, and a law was enacted to permit them to have the guardianſhip, the care and tuition of their own children.

THE teſt act by which the diſſenting proteſtants were unjuſtly excluded from offices of truſt under the crown was repealed, and they are now in this reſpect reſtored to the privileges of citizens.

DURING Lord Temple's adminiſtration, diſcontents prevailed in our parliament reſpecting the repeal of the declaratory act of the 6th of George the I. But the Britiſh parliament in order to remove all doubts relative

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to their legiſlative and judicial privileges, paſſed a bill into a law, containing a full renunciation on the part of the Britiſh legiſlature, of all claims of right to interfere with the judgment of our courts, or to make laws to bind this country in future. Thus terminated a conteſt in which the ſpirit of Ireland, ſeconded by a fortunate train of concurring circumſtances, was at length crowned with ſucceſs.

In June, 1783, the Earl of Northington diſſolved the Iriſh parliament by royal proclamation, and ſummoned a new parliament to be holden at Dublin, on the 6th of September following. The chief motive which induced government to diſſolve the parliament was, to prevent the ſpirited reſolutions which they dreaded would take place at the Autumn aſſizes, for propoſing patriotic teſts to their reſpective county candidates.

A. D. 1783. The ſeſſions of 1779, in which the dawn of Ireland's emancipation appeared, may undoubtedly be conſidered as a great and memorable period of time. However it was eaſy to foreſee from the ma-

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ny important and numerous matters that remained to be ſettled, particularly in point of regulations of trade, that the new parliament of 1783, would be one of the moſt critical and intereſting that ever aſſembled in this kingdom.

GREAT BRITAIN, after exhauſting her blood and treaſure, to no purpoſe, at length acknowledged the independence of the American ſtates, and a general peace diſſipated the ſtorms of war over the old and new world. This important revolution will convey inſtruction to diſtant ages and diſtant nations, by furniſhing an awful admonition to princes not to violate the rights of their ſubjects.

THE Northington adminiſtration oppoſed both a reform in the commons houſe of parliament, and protecting duties, wherefore every effort to effectuate theſe deſirable purpoſes proved at the time ineffectual. The fencible regiments were reduced at this time, as they had become ſo odious to the nation, it was conſidered prudent by government to diſmiſs

miſs them. They were inſtituted for a two-fold purpoſe, to create influence, and to overturn the ſpirit of volunteering.

THIS year a meeting of the volunteer delegates of Ulſter took place at Dungannon, where a ſpecific plan of a parliamentary reform was agreed to, and a convention appointed to meet at Dublin, on the 10th of November following, which was to conſiſt of five delegates from every county, and three from every city in the kingdom. At the appointed time, this national aſſembly met at the royal exchange, Dublin, and elected the Earl of Charlemont their chairman, and then proceeded to the Rotunda as the place beſt adapted for the purpoſe of the meeting; after they ſat for ſome days, they agreed to a plan of reform, which Mr. Flood introduced immediately into the houſe of commons, but it was rejected by a majority of eighty.

GOVERNMENT was at firſt ſeriouſly alarmed at the meeting of the national aſſembly, and a privy council was ſummoned to determine on the propriety of arreſting both the chairman and ſecretary of the meeting, but the

the meaſure having been conſidered hazardous, was dropped, and another expedient, much more efficacious was adopted. It was, at firſt the avowed object of the national aſſembly to comprehend the catholics in their ſcheme of reform, but government by the artifice and addreſs of ſome of their creatures in the aſſembly, had the catholics excluded in their intended plans of reform, and thus, by dividing the people on this occaſion, government obtained an eaſy triumph, which a general union of ſentiment among them, at the time, would have rendered totally impracticable. Thus the great national convention effected nothing by the narrow, confined, and illiberal plan they had formed.

We are but too apt to be over ſanguine in our expectations, upon the appointment of every new lord lieutenant, this happened to be the caſe at this time, as the ſame political ſyſtem was invariably purſued by the Rutland adminiſtration as by the former. And no man was better qualified to conduct the buſineſs of government than the lord lieutenant's ſecretary, Mr. Orde, a man well accuſtomed to the routine of buſineſs through the experience

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he derived from long profeſſional habits. A bill was brought into parliament this ſeſſion for the purpoſe of a reform in the repreſentation of the people in parliament, but the queſtion was loſt by a majority of 74 againſt the committal of the bill. Mr. Gardiner, now Lord Mountjoy, towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion moved the following reſolutions in the houſe of commons. Firſt, that many of the trading people of this kingdom were in the greateſt calamity and diſtreſs. Secondly, that the importation of foreign articles into this kingdom had conſiderably increaſed for a ſeries of years, and ſtill continued to do ſo. Thirdly, that it was neceſſary for parliament to interfere and alleviate the preſent diſtreſſes of the people, however, the meaſure was defeated. The patriotic and ſpirited reſolves of the guild of merchants, relative to a non-importation agreement, until protecting duties were obtained, proved extremely uſeful to the ſtarving manufacturers of the metropolis.

A. D. 1784. In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, Secretary Orde introduced a bill for a final commercial adjuſtment between Great Britain and Ireland, by way of ſubſtitute

ſubſtitute for protecting duties. At length the bill paſſed the houſe on the 12th of Auguſt 1785. But when it came before the Britiſh parliament, it was ſo changed and modified, and in ſuch ſtate tranſmitted here, that the adoption of the commercial ſyſtem would unqueſtionably have overturned the independence of the conſtitution without promoting our commercial intereſt. Wherefore Mr. Orde was obliged at length to abandon the commercial propoſitions, when he found the majority of the commons had both virtue and firmneſs to oppoſe them.

The next of Mr. Orde's obnoxious meaſures was the police ſyſtem. Under pretext of effecting domeſtic peace and protection, a bill was introduced for the improvement of the police of the city of Dublin, but its evident object was to create patronage, and undue influence in the city; however, notwithſtanding the great and powerful oppoſition it met with, it paſſed into a law; which was deemed an invaſion of the chartered rights of the metropolis, and threw no little odium on the Rutland adminiſtration.

A. D. 1785. In order to gain popularity, Mr. Orde introduced a ſyſtem of education into parliament, which he probably never intended to carry into effect. The plan itſelf was partial in its principles, and limited in its extent, and Mr. Orde having ſubmitted it to the conſideration of the houſe declared that nothing final would be done until next ſeſſion of parliament. So the nation was amuſed by this plan of Mr. Orde's for a ſhort time, but the buſineſs was never after taken up. A moment's reflection will render it obvious, that if the maſs of the people is ignorant and illiterate, among ſuch a people, civilization will make but a ſlow progreſs, while idleneſs, riot, and faction; muſt be the inevitable conſequences. Wherefore until a liberal and comprehenſive ſyſtem of education is adopted in this kingdom, it cannot otherwiſe be expected, but that the lower orders of the people will be profligate, diſorderly and licentious; neither can our commerce flouriſh, our manufactures thrive, our agriculture improve; while a want of information pervades the body of the people, for without knowledge, and virtue, no nation can or ever will, become proſperous, happy

happy or civilized. Surely, then, the attention of the legiſlature ought to be turned with all poſſible expedition to this great object of national reform.

A. D. 1787. A MELANCHOLY event took place at this period. The Duke of Rutland, on his return to Dublin from an excurſion to the South of Ireland, was attacked with a feveriſh complaint, which on the 24th of October, put a period to his natural exiſtence. His many amiable and ſocial qualities cauſed him to be univerſally regretted, and his death was ſeverely felt by thoſe, who partook of his generoſity, bounty, and charity.

THE various encroachments made under his adminiſtration upon the rights and immunities of the corporation of the city of Dublin, alarmed the citizens to a conſiderable degree. As the encroachments were progreſſive they were the more alarmed. The paving and lighting of their own ſtreets, the building of a wall for the improvement of their own harbour, the police bill afforded too much

juſt

juſt cauſe for apprehenſion. But from the anſwers of the Duke of Rutland's ſucceſſor, to public addreſſes, if from ſuch language an opinion can be formed, the fulleſt aſſurances were given by the viceroy, that no further encroachments ſhould be made on the rights of the city. But the credulity of Ireland has been too long the cauſe of her depreſſion; every new adminiſtration has her immediate confidence, and ſhe never ſuſpects the miſchief, until ſhe abſolutely feels the evil.

A. D. 1787. SEVERAL bills both œconomical and conſtitutional were introduced into parliament, during this adminiſtration, and rejected; although public œconomy appeared to be the favourite object of the viceroy. The police act was continued, unneceſſary places created, and the ſcandalous barter of places and penſions carried to an enormous extent. Theſe were the virtuous actions of a viceroy who was the private orator of œconomy, although the avowed acceſſary of public profuſion. But the regency buſineſs completely overturned the former popularity of the viceroy, and haſtened his departure from the kingdom.

ON the fifth of February, 1789. The lord lieutenant opened the ſeſſion of parliament by communicating the painful information, that his majeſty had been for ſome time afflicted with a ſevere malady, which rendered him incompetent to diſcharge the regal functions, and he concluded his ſpeech by ſtating, that he had directed ſuch documents as he had received reſpecting his majeſty's health, to be laid before the houſe, in order to aſſiſt their deliberations on ſo melancholy a ſubject.

A. D. 1789. IN the addreſs of parliament to his excellency, they expreſſed the deepeſt concern for his majeſty's malady, and manifeſted the moſt cordial loyalty and attachment to their ſovereign, and the moſt zealous regard for the united and common intereſts of both kingdoms.

IT was the avowed intention of government to procraſtinate the diſcuſſion of this melancholy and novel caſe, in order to make the meaſure of the Britiſh parliament a rule for the conduct of the Iriſh ſenate. But as the executive power was, by the viſitation of heaven totally

totally ſuſpended, the Iriſh parliament, proceeded immediately to fill up the vacancy by appointing the Prince of Wales regent during his royal father's incapacity, with full and unlimited powers. This proceeding was ſo much diſliked by the viceroy, that a diſſolution of parliament was determined on, but a ſpirited determination of the houſe of commons to paſs a ſhort money bill, completely prevented it.

Long and warm debates took place in parliament with reſpect to the mode of proceeding on this occaſion, whether by bill or addreſs. The advocates for proceeding by bill, ſtated it to be the moſt decorous and conſtitutional mode, and ſuch as had been adopted by Great Britain. That we could not appoint a regent for this kingdom until England had firſt appointed one, as the regent of Great Britain would be *ipſo facto* regent of Ireland, and that by proceeding otherwiſe, the connexion between the ſiſter kingdoms might be endangered, and a ſeparation enſue, or an union be acceded to. Thoſe who ſupported the proceeding by addreſs, urged,

that the mode was ſanctioned by the great and reſpectable precedent of the revolution. That the doctrines of the regent of Great Britain being *ipſo facto* regent of Ireland, was ſubverſive of the free agency of the Iriſh parliament, a libel on the independence of Ireland, and an outrage on the people. To ſay, that the king of Great Britain, and not the king of Ireland was the ſovereign of this country, was only to make the name of the Britiſh king a ſubject of ſophiſtry, and an inſtrument of humiliation to Ireland's imperial crown. That to proceed by bill was unconſtitutional, becauſe the two houſes of parliament could not make a law. That in ſuch melancholy caſes as the preſent, the two houſes ſpeak only by addreſs.

At length the mode by addreſs was carried in both houſes of parliament. But the lord lieutenant having been waited upon, declined to tranſmit the addreſs of both houſes of parliament to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, and declined taking charge of the ſame in a written anſwer, which is as follows. "That under the impreſſions which I feel of

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" my official duty, and of the oath I have tak-
" en as chief governor of Ireland, I am oblig-
" ed to decline tranſmitting this addreſs to
" Great Britain; for I cannot conſider myſelf
" warranted to lay before the Prince of Wales
" an addreſs, purporting to inveſt his royal
" highneſs with powers to take upon him the
" government of this realm before he ſhall
" be enabled by law ſo to do."

On the viceroy's refuſal to tranſmit the addreſs, both houſes of parliament deputed ſix members, two from the lords and four from the commons, to preſent the addreſs of both houſes to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales. And on the motion of Mr. Grattan, the following vote was carried in the houſe of commons; " That his ex-
" cellency the lord lieutenant's anſwer to
" the meſſage of both houſes of parliament,
" requeſting him to tranſmit into England
" their addreſs to the Prince of Wales, con-
" tains an unwarrantable and unconſtitutional
" cenſure on both houſes; and attempts to
" queſtion the undoubted privileges, of the
" lords ſpiritual and temporal, and of the
" commons of Ireland."

THUS the proceedings were legalized, and the conſtitutional independence of the nation maintained and ſupported. The conſequent convaleſcence of the ſovereign ſhortly enſued, and rendered his royal highneſs's acceptance of the regency of Ireland unneceſſary. His anſwer to the Iriſh deputies who waited on him with the addreſs, will remain on the journals of parliament as a record honourable to the prince, and flattering to the parliament, and will never periſh but with the annals of our country.

IF we pauſe for a moment to look back for a few years on the encreaſing enormous expence of the nation, the retroſpect may be attended with uſeful information. With a view to the adjuſtment of the commercial arrangements with Great Britain, in the year 1785, new duties to a conſiderable amount were impoſed, for the purpoſe of equalizing the revenue with the expences of the nation, yet there appears by the report of the committee of accounts in each ſubſequent year, a deficiency of revenue, amounting at Lady Day, 1789,

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to 413,414l. which makes an average deficency in each year of 103,353l. without including fractional parts.

Now when the current expences of the nation exceed its revenue by at leaſt 100,cool. a year, the progreſs of the evil ought to be checked as ſoon as poſſible, and a real and permanent equalization becomes eſſentially neceſſary. If we were to contraſt the price of collecting the revenues of Ireland with that of Great Britain, we would find that a conſiderable reduction ought to take place, as the abuſe in that department is truly ſhameful. The groſs revenue of Ireland ſtands the nation for collecting, nearly 17 and a half per cent. That of Great Britain comes to about 7 and an half per Cent: The diſparity is ſo conſiderable as unqueſtionably demands the ſerious inveſtigation of parliament.

Indeed the attention of one of our diſtinguiſhed ſenators, was for a conſiderable time directed to this object without being able to effect any thing of moment; although the ſureſt

ſureſt reſources in this country, are a ſimplification of taxes, and a reformation in the collection of them.

WHEREFORE, it is high time to deviſe a plan to ſtop the further accumulation of debt, otherwiſe a general bankruptcy or intolerable oppreſſion will be the inevitable conſequences. Previous to the Marquis of Buckingham's departure, the total charge and debt of the nation amounted to 3,582,787l. 5s. 9d. Total credit, 1,127,032l. 1 1s. conſequently the debt of the nation amounted to 2,240,204l. 14s. and this debt will be perpetually encreaſing, and our burthens and taxes alſo, unleſs a permanent ſinking fund is immediately founded for the redemption of public debts. Additional taxes will raiſe the neceſſaries of life, and check our manufactures, and be productive of idleneſs and immorality among the people, as government muſt encourage or at leaſt connive at exceſſive expence among the people, which evidently tends to corrupt their manners, and diminiſh their numbers. Wherefore to prevent thoſe evils, the national debt

debt ought to be diminiſhed by the application of an annual ſpecific ſum, invariably applied to the reduction thereof.

THE Marquis of Buckingham became ſo diſagreeable to the nation, that he thought it prudent to retire from the adminiſtration of the kingdom, having previouſly appointed lords juſtices in his room, until the arrival of a new lord lieutenant; an event which did not take place until the fifth of January in the following year.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI

Opening the Parliament on the 21ſt of January, 1790—A candid Satement of the Situation of the Kingdom for five Years back.—Mr. Forbes's Motion of œconomy rejected—A Motion with reſpect to the Influence of the Crown loſt—A Motion of Mr. Grattan's, relative to the Sale of the Peerage defeated by a Majority in Parliament—The bill againſt the Police Inſtitution and the Place Bill rejected—A motion againſt Fiats attended with good effect, altho not carried—A Reſponſibility Bill and Penſion Bill defeated—The Parliament diſſolved by Royal Proclamation—A new one ſummoned to meet at Dublin—A wonderful Revolution effected in the French Monarchy—On Friday, the 2d of July, 1790—the new Parliament meet—Elect Mr. Foſter for their Speaker—A Vote of Credit for the ſum of 200,000l. granted by Parliament on account of the apprehenſion of a Spaniſh War—Obſervations on the exceſſive Uſe of Spirituous Liquors—How to reſtrain it, and the Reſolutions of the Commons on that Subject—Mr. Grattan endeavours to open our Trade

Trade to the Countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, but the Meaſure is ſacrificed to the Monolopy of the Eaſt India Company— Ineffectual Efforts to aboliſh the Police Syſtem— Mr. George Ponſonby moved that a Committee ſhould be appointed to take into Conſideration a Motion relative to the Importation of Tea into Irelanul, in order to the Enjoyment of a Trade to the Eaſt Indies— His Motion was not carried—The Place Bill, introduced the third Time by Mr. Foſter, rejected—The Bill for diſqualifying Revenue Officers from voting at Elections introduced by Mr. Grattan, rejected—A Bill paſſed into a Law to regulate the iſſuing of Licences ſelling Spirituous Liquors and reſtraining the exceſſive Uſe thereof.

A. D. 1790. THE Earl of Weſtmoreland ſucceeded the Marquis of Buckingham, in the adminiſtration of this country, at a period truly critical. The general abhorrence of the late government held out an inſtructive leſſon to the new, how to avoid ſimilar execration. During the five laſt years an encreaſe of 200,000l. a year, was added

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to the national expence. However part of this encreaſe can be juſtified, A great part of the army of this country which in 1784 ſerved the Empire abroad, and were paid by Great Britain, but ſince that period having returned to Ireland, they were paid by us, this augmented the expence of the nation in a ſum of 66,000l. a year. A large ſum was paid by way of compenſation to the officers of the Cavalry who were in 1789 reduced to dragoon guards. Public buildings added much to the national expence. The transfer of money to the bank, as compenſation, was made to thoſe who ſuffered by that transfer, likewiſe ſwelled the public accounts; the eſtabliſhment of an Iriſh poſt-office a circumſtance both of honour and emolument to the country, had alſo cauſed an expence of the annual ſeſſions was alſo to be included, together with the bounties paid by government for the encouragement of trade, tillage manufactures and fiſheries of the kingdom.

But after every fair deduction and candid allowance are made, ſtill the encreaſe is enormous in ſo ſhort a period. Part of this encreaſe is to be aſcribed to the civil liſt, and the

the moſt exceptionable part of the civil liſt, the penſion liſt. A new penſion liſt was the return made for the new taxes granted on an engagement to equalize. Theſe penſions the nation was not able to pay, nor the miniſter to juſtify. The commons propoſed to ſtrike off the obnoxious penſions, but were reſiſted by government, a limitation of the penſion liſt was oppoſed, and the ſecretary, who had contributed to its encreaſe, became the object of its reward. A lord lieutenant's ſecretary has no official pretenſion to an Iriſh proviſion. In Great Britain they do not uſually penſion their ſecretaries; the late lord Chatham was penſioned for conquering France, and if Ireland were the natural foe of Great Britain ſome of her ſecretaries would have ſimilar pretenſions.

In 1783, the ſalary of both viceroy and ſecretary were raiſed, wherefore the penſion alluded to was the more improper. This evil was aggravated by the grant of the beſt reverſion in the country to another abſentee ſecretary, the brother of the late viceroy. This meaſure was highly improper, becauſe the nation had paid immoderate compenſation to buy and bring home

home abſentee employments. The civil liſt had encreaſed, during the five years we allude to, upwards of 30,000l. The military liſt had encreaſed 100,000l. a year. A part of this charge is transfer, but a great part is not. The ſtatement ſubmitted to parliament by the late viceroy was erroneous, it ſet up a temporary reduced expence againſt a perpetual expence incurred; neither the expence nor object were avowed; and the effect has been, more troops for the plantations. So great an addition during the time of peace to the military expence of the nation, made every unneceſſary addition to her civil expences doubly criminal.

The collection of the revenue encreaſed, including the poſt office, above 100,000l. in the courſe of five years. In ſtating the expence of government, we muſt not omit the police, and charge it to the account of the late viceroy as well as to the adminiſtration who deviſed it, for he continued it. Government rejected a reſolution declaratory of the extravagance of the police, and rejected the report of the police committee, under a full conviction of its veracity; the report ſubſtantiated the ſcheme of prodigality, and the rejection of that

that report proved the government an accomplice. The ſubſequent reductions that took place in the police, in conſequence of the report, were only a peace offering to reconcile the public to the miniſter's object in the police, an unconſtitutional influence in the corporation of the metropolis, and a place army to encourage his partizans.

THE office of ſecond counſel to the commiſſioners was revived, and two new commiſſioners of the revenue appointed. The Engliſh laws exclude the commiſſioners from ſitting in parliament. But the government of Ireland makes men commiſſioners becauſe they have ſeats in parliament.

THE next meaſure of influence and expence was the appointment of two commiſſioners of the rolls on the ſame principle of encreaſing the influence of the crown. The late lord lieutenant divided the boards of ſtamps and accounts; after encreaſing the charges of the eſtabliſhment; he appropriated a board for the purpoſe of ſuperintending the public expence, and made that appointment a violation

lation of its own principle, and one of the great jobs of his government.

THE board of accounts, when firſt eſtabliſhed, was by many thought uſeleſs; but to give it the colour of utility, the miniſter declared in parliament that he would annex the collection of the ſtamps to the board of accounts, and his declaration was followed by the tax, and then carried into execution. Afterwards it was thought proper to advance the ſalary of the commiſſioners of accounts for the joint and additional labours. Theſe boards are now divided; five officers of ſtamps, and five commiſſioners of accounts. The commiſſioners, however diſpoſed to œconomy, had it not in their power to be of any great advantage; they might examine vouchers, and controul tradeſmen's bills, but the miniſter, the great political jobber, him they could not touch; they could not check.

A PENSION bill and place bill were rejected; theſe meaſures were reſiſted, when government were dividing boards, ſplitting ſinecures and multiplying offices; and at one and the ſame time reſiſting the bills by their influence,

influence, and making them neceſſary by their tranſgreſſions. Perhaps the condúct of the late viceroy was a criſis in the public diſorder to mature the public remedy; as the ſpecific owes its diſcovery to the diſeaſe; and ſome patriot government, on the ruins of his regulations in the re-aſcending ſcale of liberty may aſſent to ſuch conſtitutional meaſures, as may give relief to our injured community.

THE late viceroy ſuppreſſed the office of one of the vice treaſurers, which certainly was a ſaving to the country. But in making this reduction, the viceroy faſtened on the Earl of Shannon, the only Iriſhman that was to be found in the liſt of vice treaſurers, and leaving Engliſhmen in peaceable poſſeſſion, deprived a nobleman of his office, who, in addition to the emoluments of that office, conſtantly ſpent in Ireland an ample fortune, in a manner honourable to himſelf and uſeful to his country.

IRELAND was at this time placed in a ſort of interval between the expiration of a ſyſtem of oppreſſion, and the formation of a ſyſtem of corruption. To prevent the growth of the latter, Mr. Forbes early in the ſeſſion of this year

"ſity of reſorting to new loans, and of im-"poſing new taxes." This motion on a diviſion of the houſe was loſt by a majority of 44. A motion relative to the influence of the crown was alſo loſt by a conſiderable majority.

It is painful to take a view of the fate of Ireland from the firſt of its hiſtory to the preſent day. Antecedent to the reign of Henry II. barbariſm pervaded the land, except what weak illuminations were caſt upon it for a time by monkiſh learning. From thence to the American war, ignominious obſcurity was its fate, and the name of Ireland was not to be found in the hiſtoric page, except where ſome rebellion or maſſacre had brought it into notice.

We are now, it is true, an independent kingdom. We have an imperial crown, diſtinct from Great Britain. But it is a mere metaphyſical diſtinction, for we are governed by Engliſh miniſters or their agents who never dare aſpire to the dignity of any great ſentiment of their own. Ireland may pride herſelf

ſelf on being a great kingdom, but the fact is ſhe is ſcarcely known beyond the boundaries of her own ſhores. What name have we among the nations of Europe? What notice have foreign ſtates of us? Where are our negociators or our ambaſſadors? We ſacrifice every thing to our connexion with Great Britain that can tend to our conſequence, our fame, and our glory. We forego every thing that is great and aſpiring, and reſt ſatisfied with our humble and obſcure ſituation. And what compenſation do we require? A virtuous and frugal government. We are freed, no doubt, from the expences of fleets, of foreign miniſters, and all the ſpendid appendages of empire, while we are exhauſted by jobbing, prodigality and rapine.

THERE exiſts, an arrogance which treats the people of this kingdom, like a ſort of inferior beings, and perhaps too many of our cringing countrymen may have contributed to promote the idea, but this is by no means, the national characteriſtic, as Ireland contains men of as high minds, as any nation in its vicinity can boaſt of.

UNDUE

UNDUE influence may bear miniſters through in ordinary times, but when the day of difficulty or danger arrives, the effects of this debaſing ſyſtem will be felt. What a figure did the government of this country often make during the American war? What a figure did the government recently make on the regency buſineſs?

WE are now an independent kingdom; the laws of England can no longer reſtrain us, but the Engliſh miniſter, by an encreaſe of influence, is endeavouring to eſtabliſh a controul over this nation, as great as that which was lately relinquiſhed by Great Britain. But ſuch depraved policy will not be tolerated by Ireland, ſhe is entitled to it, and muſt have an honeſt and frugal adminiſtration, a meaſure that will prove the proſperity of Ireland, and the ſalvation of Great Britain.

MR. GRATTAN moved on the 20th of February, "that a ſelect committee be appointed to enquire in the moſt ſolemn manner, whether the late or preſent adminiſtration had entered into any corrupt agreement with any perſon or perſons to recommend ſuch perſon

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or persons to his majesty, as fit and proper persons to be by him made peers of this realm, in consideration of such person or persons giving certain sums of money to be laid out in procuring the return of members to serve in parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconsistent with the independence of parliament, and in violation of the fundamental laws of the land."

Mr. Grattan pledged himself to convict government of the measure, and dared them to the enquiry in a stile of the most mortifying and humiliating defiance. Government, conscious of the iniquity of the measure, avoided entering into the enquiry on the ground, that common fame ought not to become the subject of enquiry, and that the question related to the exercise of his majesty's prerogative; and on the question being put on Mr. Grattan's motion, it was lost by a majority of 56 in favour of government.

Mr. Hartley, on the 24th of February moved the house of commons to come to the following resolution, "That the establishment of

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"the police had been expenſive, and not ade-
"quate to the protection of the ſubject; and
"that owing to the operation of the police bill,
"and the number of aldermen of the city of
"Dublin having been elected commiſſioners
"of, and diviſional juſtices in this eſtabliſh-
"ment, the magiſtracy and corporation of the
"city, have been leſs reſpectable in the eyes
"of the citizens."

THIS reſolution was made by a member who had long repreſented the city with honour, and now retiring from the repreſentation of it, made this laſt motion, in which he proteſted againſt the police on the part of his conſtituents and himſelf; but his motion proved unſucceſsful, as government determined to ſupport the inſtitution in direct oppoſition to the wiſhes of the citizens.

A PLACE bill was introduced into parliament to guard againſt the influence of the crown, but it was borne down by the weight of numbers only. Great Britain had experienced the ſalutary effects of a place bill, for upwards of eighty years; it was a principle interwoven with the revolution, and conſider-

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conſidered as eſſential to the preſervation of the liberties of the people. But the neceſſity for adopting the meaſure in this kingdom became of late years indiſpenſibly neceſſary, particularly ſince the laſt ſeſſion of the Iriſh parliament, not leſs than fourteen new places had been created, and beſtowed upon members of the houſe of commons.

GOVERNMENT ſeemed determined to carry every meaſure by the ſtrong hand of power and undue influence. It was obſerved on the ſide of adminiſtration, that a ſtrong government was neceſſary for Ireland. Miniſters repreſented the people as turbulent and diſaffected, and therefore wiſhed for a ſtrong government inſtead of a good one. But what in the hiſtory of this country could warrant ſuch an aſſertion? Let us attend to the facts of our hiſtory.

FROM the revolution, to the American war, never was there a country ſo oppreſſed as Ireland, and yet no country was ever more tranquilly conducted. During the whole of that long period, when England was involved in various wars, and even when the rebellious

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ſpirit of Scotland ſounded to arms, Ireland continued in poverty and peace. In the late war, when Great Britain was engaged againſt America, againſt the combination of all the powers of Europe; when all nations confederated againſt her, ſome to ſtrip her of her territories, others to be paſſive ſpectators of her ruin; Ireland gave up her troops almoſt to the laſt man, for the defence of Great Britain, and armed voluntarily to protect herſelf.

Instead of taking advantage of the ſituation of Great Britain, and retaliating for the oppreſſion of a century, Ireland only claimed her ancient rights and conſtitution. Was this a foundation for aſſerting that a ſtrong government was neceſſary to rule this country? ſhall Engliſh miniſters call us turbulent and factious in oppoſition to the facts recorded in the hiſtory of our government? but ſuch a character is our reward, after peaceably ſubmitting to a century of uſurpation.

If Ireland gains conſiderable advantages from her connexion with Great Britain; Great Britain

Britain alſo gains great advantages from her connection with Ireland; in wealth above a million a year by abſentees, in power near four millions of people, with the great ſupplies they afford to her navy and army; to her ſtrength in the eaſt, to her force in the weſt; added to all theſe, the convenience of her harbours, with all the advantages which this country brings, not only as a portion of the empire, but as her ally at her door, on all occaſions ready to aſſiſt her. And is the retribution for ſuch ſervices and loyalty, to be ſuſpicion, oppreſſion, police laws, riot acts, taxation, corruption, detraction. Is he a friend to Great Britain who authorizes this ungenerous policy? No, he is an enemy to both Kingdoms

A PRACTICE had of late prevailed, of iſſuing writs for large ſums of money in actions of ſlander, where no ſpecific injury was ſtated in the affidavit, on which ſuch action was founded. With a view to remedy this injury, Mr. George Ponſonby in a committee appointed for the purpoſe, propoſed a reſolution to the following effect, "That it is the opinion of this

" this committee, that the iſſuing of writs " from the courts of juſtice in actions of ſlan- " der or defamation, where the ſum of da- " mages could not be fairly aſcertained, " and holding perſons to ſpecial bail in " exceſſive ſums, is illegal and ſubverſive " of the liberty of the ſubject."

ALTHOUGH this vote of cenſure was not carried, it was attended with beneficial conſequences, as the iſſuing of fiats, and requiring exceſſive bail in actions of defamation, were reſtrained by it within conſtitutional bounds. A place bill, a penſion bill, and one for diſqualifying revenue officers from voting at general elections were ſeverally rejected, and a reſponſibility bill ſhared a ſimilar fate.

IT would be ſuperfluous to comment on the conduct of government during this ſeſſion; facts ſpeak for themſelves and require no illuſtration. Beſides, it would be an extremely painful taſk to paſs a cenſure on living men and living meaſures. But juſtice and impartiality cannot avoid paſſing a ſevere reprehenſion on ſuch conduct as neither

neither can be juſtified nor excuſed on any principle whatſoever; and can only be imputed to theſe miſtaken rules of policy, which for a ſeries of years, weakly imagined, that Ireland would ſubmit to the tyranic government of the Britiſh Cabinet; a ſyſtem, which, if much purſued, might prove as fatal to Great Britain as injurious to Ireland, and would inevitably terminate in the diſſolution of the connection between the two kingdoms, which their mutual intereſt requires to be ſo carefully preſerved.

On the fifth of April, the parliament was prorogued to the fifth day of June following. And ſoon after the prorogation took place, the parliament was diſſolved by royal proclamation, and a new parliament ſummoned to meet at Dublin on the twentieth of May one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety.

If we turn our eyes for a moment from the hurry, buſtle, noiſe, riot and corruption, incident to general elections; to the continent of Europe, we will there behold a great revolution effected in the French govern-

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ment without either bloodſhed or any conſiderable commotion. In France, twenty ſix millions of people were governed by laws, to which their conſent was never aſked; ariſtocracy and deſpotiſm triumphed over the land; the people at length made a ſtruggle for freedom, and in the effort they burſt their chains, while the image of public liberty ſat enthroned on the altar conſecrated by tyranny to public ſlavery.

The French monarchy was in moſt reſpects aſſimilated to the Britiſh ſyſtem of government, while the monarch with all ranks and deſcriptions of Frenchmen, ſolemnly pledged themſelves to maintain their new government ſacred and inviolate; and happy would it have been for themſelves and the reſt of Europe, had they adhered to their engagements.

On the ſecond of July, in this year, the the commons met, 253 members were all that were as yet returned. A meſſage was delivered from his excellency the lord lieutenant, requeſting their attendance in the houſe of peers, to which the commons having

having repaired, were commanded by his excellency to return to their own houſe, and elect a ſpeaker. When the commons returned. Mr. Secretary Hobart roſe, and propoſed that the right honourable John Foſter, ſhould take the chair of this aſſembly, Mr. Hobart ſaid, that the right honourable gentleman he put in nomination, was choſen by the unanimous election of the laſt parliament, and had acquitted himſelf with ſo much ſatisfaction to the houſe, that his knowledge and experience in the conduct of all matters for parliamentary diſcuſſion rendered him in every reſpect perfectly eligible, he begged leave to add, that on the cloſe of the laſt parliament. He received the unanimous thanks of the houſe, and he truſted, their approbation at that time, would be the earneſt of their choice at this period.

Mr. Connolly moved as an amendment, "That inſtead of the Right Hon. John Foſter, "the name of the Right Hon. William "Brabazon Ponſonby be inſerted. The "queſtion being put by the clerk the amend-

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"ment was negatived, and Mr. Hobart's "motion in favour of Mr. Foſter was car-"ried."

When Mr. Foſter was elected, he in a few words returned thanks to the houſe for this freſh mark of the confidence repoſed in him, and aſſured them of his unremitting attention to the duties of the chair, as the beſt mode of his gratitude for the honour for which they were pleaſed to diſtinguiſh him. The choice of the commons having been approved by his excellency the lord lieutenant, the parliament was then opened by a ſpeech from the throne.

It muſt be admitted that no man is better calculated than Mr. Foſter to fill the important office of ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and few men have ſtronger claims on the regard and affections of his countrymen. Our trade, our agriculture, and particularly our linen manufacture, owe much to his care, knowledge, and protection; and his conduct, while chancellor of the exchequer, was ſuch, as juſtly merited the thanks of parliament and the gratitude of the nation.

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In the ſpeech from the throne, the two houſes of parliament were informed that two Britiſh veſſels had been captured at Nootka Sound, on the north weſt coaſt of America by the Spaniards, that their cargoes were ſeized, and the officers and crew were ſent as priſoners to a Spaniſh port. That his majeſty had directed his miniſter at Madrid to claim ſuch full and adequate ſatisfaction as the nature of the caſe required, but if, unfortunately, his majeſty's endeavours on this occaſion ſhould prove unſucceſsful, he fully relied on the cordial and effectual ſupport of his parliament of Ireland, in the proſecution of ſuch meaſures, as might eventually become neceſſary for the honour of the crown, and for the protection of the eſſential rights of all his ſubjects, and the common intereſts of the empire.

In conſequence of this intimation from the throne, a vote of credit to the amount of 200,000l. paſſed the houſe, in order to put the kingdom in a ſtate of defence, and towards raiſing men for his majeſty's

navy, for fortifying our harbours, and putting our ordnance on a more efficient footing.

It muſt be admitted, that a vote of credit is a mode of aſſiſting government extremely exceptionable, in as much, as it places the diſpoſal of a large ſum in the hands of adminiſtration, who may convert the vote of credit to any purpoſe, particularly where the application of it was not ſpecifically recited.

In the year 1778, during the French war, the houſe of commons paſſed a vote for 300,000l. for putting this country in a ſtate of defence, and in January of the following year, there not being a ſhilling in the treaſury, government was obliged to borrow 50,000l. from an individual, in order to pay the army.

Ireland had granted 150,000l. to equalize her revenue with her expences, and to put a ſtop to the pernicious practice of running into debt, wherefore parliament, in time of peace, ought never to paſs a vote of credit

dit, unleſs the application of the ſum was particularly guarded, and the ſpecified purpoſe of the vote avowed.

The ſeſſions cloſed on the 24th. of July, and parliament did not meet until the January following. Early in the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament the commons reſolved, that the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors was highly injurious to the health and morals of the people; this reſolution was broughtforwar dbyMr. David Latouche, which redounds much to his credit, the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, having arrived at that enormous exceſs throughout the kingdom, as threatened unleſs ſpeedily checked by the intervention of parliament, completely to ruin the induſtry, ſubvert the morals, and deſtroy the health of the people.

By putting a ſtop to this alarming evil, many conceived that tillage and the revenue would ſuffer conſiderably, but even ſhould that happen it would be better to ſacrifice both for the benefit of the human ſpecies. No falſe alarm for either revenue or agriculture ſhould impede the progreſs of ſo ſa-

lutary meaſure. Two modes were propoſed for reſtraining the immoderate uſe of of ſpirits; firſt by diſcouraging the diſtillery; the ſecond, by encouraging the brewery and the latter ſeemed to be the moſt probable mode of ſucceſs.

It was evident that the brewery had been on the decline for a number of years which was entirely owing to ſome radical defect in the ſyſtem of laws by which it was regulated. Some of theſe laws were made many years ago, ſome were made within a few years, and however calculated they were for the benefit of the brewery, yet they had all failed of their effect; therefore, in order to encourage the brewery effectually, all reſtrictions and all exciſe ſhould be removed, and brewers put on the ſame footing with other manufacturers. Reſtrictions undoubtedly have been the cauſe of the decay of the brewery, it is now neceſſary to remove them all, a decreaſing trade requires ſtrong remedies, wherefore the brewery ought to be freed from every mode of duty which is attended with penal reſtrictions.

THE exciſe brings with it ſuch a code of penal regulations as muſt keep it down. Men who have ſmarted under ſevere reſtraints, and have retired, will never return to the buſineſs, while any reſtraints remain; and men of large capital will not embark in a buſineſs, in which the eſtabliſhed habits of connivance, between the exciſe officer and the manufacturer, give to every perſon who will condeſcend to ſo mean an intercourſe, ſuch an advantage over the honeſt man, as would deprive him of his reaſonable profit.

THESE habits ought to be overturned by the removal of all officers and all duties; then the honeſt man would be ſafe, and when he ſaw that he could reap the full advantage of his ſkill and ingenuity, he would embark his capital in the buſineſs with alacrity. Shall it be argued againſt this, that the revenue would loſe by this regulation between 60 or 70,000l. a year. We hope the country is not in ſo low a ſtate that it could not by other means raiſe ſuch a ſum annually in order to ſave the great object of tillage, of morals, and of induſtry from ruin. God forbid that any perſon ſhould think ſo meanly of our reſources,

ſources, with an encreaſing trade, a flouriſhing commerce, and enlarging manufactures.

If the legiſlature encouraged the brewery, the uſe of ſpirits would decreaſe, and ſtrong beer would prove a ſubſtitute to comfort and conſole the people for the loſs of their deſtructive luxury; long habits are not eaſily changed, and to make the people reliſh beer, they muſt be induced to it by its cheapneſs and its ſtrength. It is vain to imagine that the total uſe of ſpirits can be aboliſhed, but the pernicious abuſe of it may; and good malt liquor would effect this without either force or penalty. In a northern moiſt climate and damp ſoil, men require a potent beverage

In Great Britain no ſhop is licenced merely for the purpoſe of dram ſelling, as is the practice in this kingdom as no perſon is licenced there to ſell ſpirits, who does not keep an inn. tavern, or ordinary; a ſimilar regulation would be attended with good conſequences in this country. The ſuppreſſion of the immoderate uſe of ſpirits, is a ſubject of the greateſt importance to the proſperity, the welfare and happineſs of the kingdom; and it ought to be the wiſh of every man, to endeavour to effect it.

THE committee of the whole houſe, to whom it was referred; to take into conſideration the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, came to the following reſolutions, which were unanimouſly agreed to, by the houſe. That it is the opinion of the committee that the principal cauſe of the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, is the low price thereof. That to remedy ſaid evil, it is adviſeable to impoſe ſuch duty or duties as may prevent the exceſſive conſumption of ſpirituous liquors, among the lower orders of the people. That it would contribute to reſtrain the exceſſive uſe of ſpirits, if the number of perſons retailing the ſame were greatly diminiſhed, and if licences ſhould be confined to houſes of a certain deſcription. That it would tend to diminiſh the conſumption of ſpirits if conſiderable encouragement were given to the brewery, and that a decided preference ſhould be given the brewery in point of duty over the diſtillery, whereby the brewer might be left free from certain reſtrictions now affecting the brewery.

MR. GEORGE PONSONBY moved, that a committee might be appointed, conſiſting of members who did not hold place or penſion, to enquire

quire and report their opinion; what advantage the public had received from the appointment of two additional commiſſioners to the board of revenue; but this meaſure was diſcuſſed on ſimilar grounds with that of the preceding ſeſſion, and was at length negatived by a conſiderable majority.

When Mr. Latouche firſt introduced the meaſure for ſuppreſſing the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, he expected the concurrence of government, notwithſtanding, nothing decided was done in favour of the brewery, but what might be conſidered as a ground for taxation. An additional duty was laid on whiſkey, but it was ineffectual, as the encouragement held out to the brewer could anſwer very little purpoſe.

The brewery ought to have been entirely exempted from all exciſe whatſoever, and an addition to the malt tax acceded to. Government certainly had laid the foundation of a revenue, but they had not provided for the ſobriety of the people; little was done for the brewer and the diſtiller had been put under an additional tax. Mr. David Latouche gave notice, that he would introduce a bill

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next ſeſſion of parliament to effect his purpoſe, and that he would perſevere in the buſineſs until accompliſhed.

Mr. GRATTAN endeavoured to procure a trade to the Eaſt Indies, free to the people of Ireland, but the meaſure being oppoſed by government, was conſequently defeated, as were many other bills of the utmoſt utility to the nation. The police eſtabliſhment was continued, notwithſtanding the cleareſt and moſt unequivocal proofs were adduced to ſhew that the ſyſtem was attended with conſiderable expence, without having produced adequate advantages. The police ſyſtem had been repeatedly proved to be inefficient in point of protection, extravagant in point of taxation, and dangerous, from its influence on the magiſtracy of the capital.

IN London the citizens are perfectly protected by their ſyſtem, without the danger of patronage, or the ruin of profuſion. But in London the object of government is the protection of the people: in Dublin, it is patronage and corruption. In the one city, a re-

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ſpect to the laws is inculcated; In the other, an increaſe of revenue is exacted at the expence of morality.

From the numerous petitions againſt the police ſyſtem, it appeared, that taxation and protection did not go together, and that a more efficacious and permanent ſecurity could be obtained at leſs than one half of the expence. The ſentiments of the citizens on this ſubject appeared ſtrongly in their late ſtruggle for their lord mayor; they triumphed without availing themſelves of the gracious permiſſion to go to law for three years, to eſtabliſh a one year's title, paſt and gone in the firſt year's litigation.

In the police inſtitution, the magiſtrate, by charter, becomes the commiſſioned officer of adminiſtration, and the authority he derived from election, merged in new powers veſted by the miniſter. What he derived from the citizens he holds independent of their will; what he obtained from government he held dependent on his pleaſure. Mr. George Ponſonby with a view to open a direct trade with India, moved that

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ſeveral acts of his preſent majeſty relative to the importation of tea into this kingdom, ſhould be taken into the conſideration of a committee of the whole houſe. All the acts alluded to go to one object, that no tea ſhall be imported into this kingdom, but from England. It was univerſally allowed on all hands, that Ireland had an undoubted right to a free commerce with the world, but this muſt ſurely be conſidered an illuſion ſo long as there exiſted in Great Britain, a power, to influence the legiſlature of this kingdom, to prevent the nation from the exerciſe of a right ſo juſt and unequivocal.

IRELAND unqueſtionably poſſeſſing a free trade, ought not to be excluded by a clauſe in her own revenue bill, from exerciſing the enjoyment of trade in a direct communication with China. Mr. Ponſonby's motion purpoſed to bring thoſe clauſes before the conſideration of parliament. It was aſſerted on the ſide of adminiſtration, that Ireland had a right to trade with China, but that we had conſigned the exerciſe of it to the Eaſt India company, by which it would

would appear that Ireland had contended long for a free trade, only to have the pleaſure of ſurrendering it.

It was aſſerted, that the trade to China was unprofitable, that Ireland was unable to avail herſelf of the trade, and moreover, that it would be a matter of delicacy towards Great Britain. If the inability of the country really exiſted, ſhe could not long purſue it, and therefore the dread of ill conſequences to England would be ruin.

If the trade to China ſhould turn out to be a loſing one, by draining our ſpecie by an importation of luxury without promoting our commerce: then two conſiderations would ſuggeſt themſelves, whether the kingdom could diſpenſe with this luxury, and if not, how it could be imported with leaſt loſs. Tea is allowed to be an indiſpenſible article of import, and every man muſt allow, that it can be imported with leſs national impoveriſhment directly from China, than through the medium of Great Britain. There cannot exiſt a doubt but Ireland is capable of carrying on a trade to the Eaſt, and from a conſi-

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deration of what ſhe owes Great Britain, and what ſhe owes herſelf, there cannot exiſt a doubt but it was expedient to do ſo.

But could Ireland ſee only the moſt diſtant advantage, that in future might be derived from this trade, it would be weakneſs to relinquiſh it, out of compliment to the Eaſt-India company. On Mr. Ponſonby's motion being put, it was negatived by a majority of 57.

Mr. Forbes introduced his place bill this ſeſſion for the third time, and after having ſupported it, with an irreſiſtible weight of argument, it was borne down by a majority of ſixty. And Mr. Grattan's bill, for diſqualifying revenue officers from voting at elections, was alſo rejected by a large majority. If undue influence was the ſole motive that induced the right honourable member, to introduce the bill to diſqualify revenue officers from voting at general elections, the bill would in that caſe be too limited, as it is a fact that the majority of the tenantry of the kingdom ought to be diſqualified on the ſame principle, and there is no reaſon can be aſſigned why revenue officers ſhould be deprived

prived of their franchiſe, for acting under that kind of influence, while others are actuated by the ſame principle and paſs unnoticed.

A BILL paſſed this ſeſſion for regulating the iſſuing of licences, for ſelling ſpirituous liquors, and for remedying the abuſes ariſing from the exceſſive uſe thereof. It raiſed the price of licences conſiderably, and reſtraining the ſale of ſpirits to ſuch houſes only as were ſet apart for public entertainment, and excluded ſhops of every other kind. But it is well known that encreaſing the reſtrictions on the licenſed retailer in the ſame ratio, encourages the clandeſtine ſale of ſpirits. Wherefore regulations would prove more effectual in this buſineſs than penalties, and the co-operation of the country gentlemen would be attended with the moſt ſalutary conſequences. By their vigilance and attention alone, government may hope for the ſuppreſſion of the unlicenſed cottages, throughout the kingdom, which not only deſtroy the health, but contaminate the morals of the people.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Conſiderations on the Bill for encouraging and reclaiming barren Land—Penſion Bill introduced by Mr. Forbes—Its rejection—The Doctrine of Fiats diſcuſſed, and a Motion brought forward by Mr. George Ponſonby, for cenſuring the Conduct of the chief Juſtice of the King's Bench for iſſuing a Fiat againſt John Magee, at the inſtance of Richard Daly—The Meaſure loſt—Mr. Forbes introduced a Bill for effecting a Reſponſibility in the Servants of the Crown—Mr. Graydon preſented the Report of the Committe appointed to take the State and Management of the Police, for two years laſt paſt into Conſideratim—Obſervations on the Progreſs of the civilization of the Country for ſome Years—On its Trade Manufactures and riſing Proſperity—Reflections on the French Revolution—The Care that all States ſhould take againſt the Introduction of their Principles—A Character of Doctor Crumpe's Eſſay, on the beſt Means of providing Employment for the People—The inefficacy of the late Act for ſuppreſſing the exceſſive Uſe of Spirits—Bill in Favour of the Roman Catholics—A Petition from the Catholics

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of Dublin, praying to be admitted to the elective Franchiſe, rejected—The Reaſons aſſigned for its diſmiſſal—Eaſt India Bill introduced by Mr. George Ponſonby—Mr. Stewart of Killimoon's Motion in Favour of Preſbyterian Miniſters unanimouſly carried—The accidental burning of the Houſe of Commons--A Committee appointed to examine into the Cauſe and origin of it—Their report—Some further Improvements in in Order to check the exceſſive uſe of Spirituous Liquors—A Review of the Seſſion—The Caſe of Tithes conſidered—Their being conſidered as a Grievance, made the oſtenſible Cauſe of the Diſturbances which Diſgrace the Country—A candid Enquiry into the Cauſe of Defenderiſm and the Artifice that encouraged it—The Conſideration of the Catholic Cauſe, recommended by his Majeſty to the Iriſh Parliament.

WE have been always in the habit of conſidering the clergy of Ireland as one of the moſt reſpectable bodies in the community, and on a compariſon with the clergy of other kingdoms, we will not heſitate to pronounce that there is not in Europe a prieſthood more reſpectable and enlightened,

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Every meaſure therefore that affects ſo truly uſeful a body ought to be weighed with the utmoſt caution and attention.

THE rights of the clergy were already materially injured, by the reſolution of agiſtment, the moſt partial, the moſt ſelfiſh and unjuſtifiable reſolution ever entered into by any ſet of men. By this infamous reſolution the miſerable peaſant who builds his wretched hut in the dyke that may furniſh him with a ſide wall, ſhall pay to the clergy the tenth part of the produce of his potatoe garden, and of his own labour, in addition to an high rent; while his landlord, with perhaps a thouſand acres adjoining him, ſhall pay nothing. Can any thing be more unjuſt than this ſyſtem?

THE landlord imputes the poverty and wretchedneſs of the peaſant to the parſon, the parſon retorts on the landlord, the peaſant unfortunately believes both, but he feels the tithe heavier than all his other burdens, becauſe it is the laſt. Hence the riots and diſturbances that have diſgraced the kingdom. Wherefore, in order to put a period to ſuch ſcenes, the reſolution of agiſtment ought to be reſcinded,

and a modus for tithes eſtabliſhed, ſuch as would relieve the poor and afford a comfortable income to the parſon, without diſpute or litigation.

A. D. 1791. WITH a view to one of thoſe objects, Mr. Grattan introduced a bill to encourage the reclaiming of barren lands, by exempting them from tithes for ſeven years; but the bill failed, as it was apprehended that in its conſequences, it would eſſentially injure the intereſt of the parochial clergy. It was inſiſted that it would be unjuſt to tax the clergy excluſively for the improvement of barren lands, when the great advantage reſulting from it would redound to the landlord. That therefore ſuch improvements ought to take place at the expence of the landlord, and not of the clergy, whoſe incomes were already too ſmall, and that it would be dangerous to attempt any innovation in the dues of the clergy, particularly at a period when ſuch flagrant injuſtice and injuries had been committed on the clergy of another country. The evident intention of the right honourable mover, was certainly to afford encouragement, and not taxation to the parochial

chial clergy. However, the zeal of their advocates in parliament would not ſuffer any enquiry to be made into the buſineſs, although a minute inveſtigation would have tended ultimately to the benefit of the clergy, and the protection of the church.

Mr. Forbes, a member of the moſt exalted good qualities, and poſſeſſed of every virtue and amiable endowment, which can render man moſt valuable to ſociety, introduced a bill to limit the amount of penſions. He ſupported the bill by many powerful arguments. He ſaid, "he conſidered the bill abſolutely "neceſſary to the ſafety of the country and "the preſervation of the conſtitution; as an "unlimited power of granting penſions, with "the ſame for creating new parliamentary "places, would evidently tend to ſubvert the "independence of parliament. Mr. Forbes's bill limited the penſion liſt to eighty thouſand pounds a year, which was a moſt liberal proviſion, to enable the crown to reward meritorious ſervices.

The penſion liſt at this time amounted to 105,000l. a year. In the laſt year five thouſand

four hundred pounds had fallen off by deaths, but that the public, might not benefit much by the chance of mortality, the miniſters immediately on the death of thoſe penſioners, added to the penſion liſt 2,500l.

It certainly muſt be conſidered as a grievous oppreſſion on the public, to put new loads upon them, as ſoon as they had been diſcharged from the old. The chancellor of the Exchequer, with that integrity and candour, for which he is ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, did not defend the encreaſe of penſions, he declared that he was not conſulted on the buſineſs, nor did he conceive himſelf entitled to be conſulted, when his majeſty was pleaſed to exerciſe his undoubted prerogative, in rewarding the merits of his ſubjects. The bill was negatived by a majority of 26, notwithſtanding it was ſupported by the eloquence of a Grattan, and the ſolid and unanſwerable arguments of a Forbes.

No conſideration but the public good and a regard for that invaluable of all bleſſings, perſonal liberty, to which every individual is by birth right entitled, could induce us to introduce

introduce a ſubject which may tend to affect the feelings of the noble lord who preſides in the court of king's bench. On the 22d. of March Mr. George Ponſonby moved the houſe to reſolve, that it was their opinion, that the chief juſtice of the king's bench, in ordering *a capias ad reſpondendum* to iſſue againſt John Magee, on the affidavit of Richard Daly, marked 4000l. acted illegally. He ſupported the meaſure in a manner that reflected the higheſt honour on the great legal talents of the honourable mover. He ſaid, that the chief juſtice, by granting a fiat for 4000l. enabled the plaintiff to aſſeſs his own damages, and puniſh the defendant by throwing him into priſon for many months, before enquiry could be made, whether the plaintiff's charge was founded or not; and, above all, without that circumſtance indiſpenſible to the taking ſpecial bail, ſpecific damage.

The public conduct of miniſters, of all great officers of ſtate, and all who hold public truſts for the people, is a fair ſubject of public and ſober enquiry. But on the criminal proceedings taken on ſuch publications depends the freedom of the preſs; and if any printer, how-

ever faulty, can be ſeized and thrown into priſon upon a fiat to any amount that the humour of a judge, or the malice of a proſecutor may think fit to iſſue, it in ſuch caſe would require little eloquence to prove that the freedom of the ſubject and the liberty of the preſs were at an end.

In the preſent caſe, the printer had moſt groſsly abuſed in his paper the noble lord, wherefore it was incumbent on his lordſhip to proceed with the moſt guarded circumſpection, leſt any enemy might attribute his ſeverity to perſonal motives; his conduct ſhould have been regulated by what the law in its ſtricteſt ſenſe would warrant and juſtify; he ought to have looked down with contempt on illiberal and vulgar abuſe, particularly as Mr. Magee, was under a criminal information in his own court.

The lord chief juſtice's reaſons for refuſing to accept of common bail for John Magee were, that ſpecial bail is demandable in a caſe of *ſcandalum magnatum*, and that he could not ſee any reaſon why ſpecial bail was not demandable in the preſent caſe;

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as well as in caſes of *ſcandalum magnatum*, or in that of criminal converſation, for that they all equally depended on the contingent damages which a jury might think fit to award.

Mr. Ponsonby cited a variety of caſes to ſhew that ſpecial bail was not demandable in caſes of ſlander. He agreed with the chief juſtice that ſpecial bail was demandable in caſes of criminal converſation, but would not allow the leaſt ſimilarity in the two caſes, except that both found in damages.

In the caſe of ſlander, the defendant might juſtify it, by proving its truth, but no one can juſtify an act of criminal converſation, as it is repugnant to every principle of religion and morality, and ſubverſive of all thoſe bonds that unite civil ſociety, or promote domeſtic happineſs, and therefore there ſeems to have been no grounds for comparing two offences ſo widely different. On the queſtion being put it was rejected by a majority of ſixty.

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THE Attorney General, however, to quiet any apprehenſions of the people relative to either the liberty of the ſubject or that of the preſs, brought a bill into parliament to limit and define the power of the courts in caſes ſimilar to the preſent, in order to put the ſubject out of the power of any court, by preventing vexatious arreſts for ſcandal. The deſign of this bill was to quiet the public mind which had recently been much agitated by the late proceedings in the caſe of Magee.

Too much praiſe cannot be beſtowed on thoſe virtuous characters, who ſeſſion after ſeſſion ſtruggled ſo unremittingly in the ſervice of the people, with a conſtant attention to the public good, from which no conſideration could tempt them to ſwerve: Mr. Forbes brought forward a bill for effecting a reſponſibility, in the ſervants of the crown in the different departments of the executive government, to the parliament thereof. This bill was deſigned to eſtabliſh in Ireland the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution and the honour and dignity of parliament.

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In a country where the command of the army, the execution of the law, the beſtowing of offices, and the power of making peace and war, are all veſted in the ſovereign; if the miniſters of that ſovereign be not reſponſible for their conduct, that government is deſpotic in reſpect to the iſſuing of money. The lord lieutenant was not reſponſible, much leſs his ſecretary, for he was not known to the conſtitution, and the chancellor of the exchequer diſclaimed all reſponſibility.

Wherefore in this kingdom there is no reſponſibility in the ſervants of the crown. Until a reſponſibility in the ſervants of the crown be ſecured to the juriſdiction of parliament, we cannot be conſidered realy free, as at preſent we are only metaphyſically and abſtractedly ſo. If a ſhadow of reſponſibility exiſted in the miniſters of the crown, it would not be ſuggeſted, as it had been in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament that it might coſt the country half a million in order to bear down an ariſtocracy. Such a ſuggeſtion was not compatible with any idea of reſponſibility at all.

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THE bill was oppoſed on two grounds. The firſt, that there was a reſponſibility already, the other that the reſponſibility propoſed by the bill would ſubvert the regal conſtitution of the country. To refute this firſt propoſition, it is only neceſſary to conſider the manner of diſburſing money from our treaſury. The firſt ſtep, a king's letter, ſigned by his majeſty, and counter-ſigned by the lords of the treaſury in England; thoſe officers, have not in this realm any right, authority, reſidence or reſponſibility; their ſignatures are ſo far from furniſhing any reſponſibility to our parliament, that they do not admit of being noticed by our conſtitution, therefore, thoſe officers are phyſically irreſponſible, and, conſtitutionally unoſtenſible. What avail is it, therefore, to have an inqueſt in the houſe of commons capable to examine and impeach, when there are none forthcoming to its juriſdiction.

THUS a king's letter furniſhes no reſponſibility whatever, the letter is directed to the lord lieutenant; who therefore makes out his warrant, reciting the purport of the letter, ſigned by him at the top, and his ſecretary at the bottom. Here the Iriſh executive act begins

gins to operate, but let us ſee what kind of reſponſibility it affords?

THE lord lieutenant, it is admitted, is impeachable by parliament. His impeachment would only commence when his commiſſion ceaſed, and when his perſon was out of the juriſdiction of the realm. It would derogate from our dignity to impeach him before the lords of Great Britain, nor can we attack his perſon when we impeach him before our own lords.

As to the lord lieutenant's ſecretary, the conſtitution does not notice him, therefore he is not in its contemplation. He may however excite the indignation of the kingdom, but can never ſatisfy its juſtice. Wherefore this, in the emphatic words of Mr. Grattan, can be called by no other name than that of a fugacious reſponſibility."

MR. HUME, who was by no means an enthuſiaſt for liberty, obſerves that in a limited monarchy it is eſſential that miniſters of the crown ſhall be reſponſible for their acts, and he

he adds that the orders of the king muſt not be a juſtification; and my Lord Coke, in his chapter on parliament, ſays, that the houſe of commons is the grand inquiſitor of the nation, for the purpoſe of inquiring into grievances, which ariſe not more frequently from breaches of law, than from abuſes of regal power.

As our revenues are not appropriated, conſequently they are more liable to corrupt miſapplication in a country where there is neither place bill nor penſion bill, and where our unappropriated revenue may be converted to innumerable objects of venality and influence; a reſponſibility bill becomes abſolutely eſſential, and more particularly ſo from a recent declaration of one of our miniſters in the houſe of commons when he confeſſed that in 1769, government bought a majority of our parliament with the money of the nation, and foretold at the ſame time that it would happen again in 1789, and the fact had been ſo.

As to the ſecond grounds, that it would be a ſubverſion of the government, it is unfound-

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ed. It would certainly alter the practice of the Iriſh government as to the diſburſements of public money. A place bill would operate to the reſtoration of our government, ſubverted by looſe and unprincipled practices, the effect of an age of domination, and which have become ſo eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, that the miniſters of the crown pronounce them to be the eſſence of our government.

THUS government would defend the diſburſements of public money by the treaſurers of Great Britain, whom they allow to have no legal authority, and by the lord lieutenant and his ſecretary, whom they allow to offer no adequate reſponſibility; and they oppoſe a bill whoſe principles they acknowledged, that in the diſburſement of public money, the executive officer ſhould be forthcoming to parliament.

THUS the change of government on this occaſion turns out to be, that government is ſubverted, when a practice which they do not allow to be legal is reformed, by a principle they admit to be conſtitutional. Thus the oppoſers of the bill, would not allow Ireland

land to have an executive power, but that ſhe ſhould be governed even in the diſburſements of her own money by the executive power of Great Britain; and that the Britiſh miniſter, not the king of Ireland, ſhould have full and excluſive authority over the Iriſh treaſury. However the bill was loſt by the force of numbers alone.

DURING this ſeſſion a committee had been appointed to enquire into the ſtate and management of the police eſtabliſhment for two years laſt paſt, they ſat for forty two days, and with the utmoſt patience and perſeverance, purſued the enquiry committed to their charge. They had heard every thing that the commiſſioners of police had thought proper to alledge, they had been allowed to croſs examine every witneſs they choſe, they had been called upon by the committee for their defence, they declined, after a conſultation with each other, making any.

YET when Mr. Graydon brought forward the report of the committee, the miniſter oppoſed it, notwithſtanding that Mr Graydon had declared that the object of the committee

tee was not to criminate the police, fair and impartial enquiry was their object in the buſineſs, and he ſaid, that fairly and impartially they had performed it. He alſo added that their report was not ſuch as would criminate the police, for whatever faults there were, there were alſo circumſtances highly to the credit of the inſtitution. However the committee were diſreſpectfully treated by the refuſal of their report.

THE public attention was for ſome time directed to this object, and when the report was ſuppreſſed, opinions much more injurious than the report would perhaps authorize, were entertained againſt the police; wherefore the friends of the inſtitution did not act prudently by preventing the report from being received. Thus, by the conduct of commiſſioners of police, by having neglected to make any defence when called upon to do ſo, they were reduced to a ſituation which frequently happens to perſons in the courts of juſtice, judgment went againſt them by default, and by the ſuppreſſion of the report of the committee in the houſe of commons, the

the citizens of Dublin conſidered them in a much worſe light than they really ought.

If we look back for a few years, the retroſpect will afford much ſatisfaction to every Iriſhman. The progreſs civilization had made in the country, and the beneficial effects that have reſulted from it, were ſelf-evident in the advancement of our agriculture, population, proſperity, and order. Inland navigations, undertaken by ſpirited and patriotic individuals, and encouraged by the liberality of parliament have contributed not a little to the civilization of the country, by promoting its trade and agriculture.

In the courſe of a few years bounties had encreaſed from 75,000l. to 181,000l. this is a convincing proof of the rapid improvement of the kingdom. It is fair to ſtate that the proſperity of the country has conſiderably encreaſed the public expence, and this conſideration will ſo far redound to the credit of government and make ſome atonement, for many acts of prodigality and profuſion.

Before

BEFORE the corn bounties, which owe their origin to Lord Pery took place, what was the ſituation of the country? Thouſands of acres of fine arable land, lay uncultivated and uninhabited, and the metropolis of a fertile iſland, was indebted to foreign kingdoms for its bread. That there were not leſs than 500,cool. per annum, ſent out of the country, to purchaſe corn for our ſubſiſtence.

IN the fifteen years ſince the commencement of the bounties, compared with the ſame number of years previous to 1758, in which the bounties began to operate, the actual gain to the kingdom on the increaſe of export, and decreaſe of import of corn, meal, malt, and flour, excluſive of all other gains during that period amounted to 1,149,172l. Thus it is ſelf-evident that the agriculture of the kingdom muſt have declined, if the bounties granted on the carriage of corn, malt, meal and flour, had not prevented it.

SINCE the year 1758, when the bounties were granted, our agriculture has been conſtantly encreaſing, and the encreaſe was unqueſtionably occaſioned by the operation of

the bounties. But the erection of flour mills throughout the kingdom, muſt be conſidered as the chief means through which the bounties have effected the encreaſe, as the mills furniſhed the beſt medium for conveying encouragement to the farmer.

Since the year 1758, ſeveral additions and improvements were made to the ſyſtem of corn bounties. In 1774, the rudiment of an export bounty was laid. In 1778, the coaſt and canal bounties were added; and in 1780, the inland bounty on malt and flour, was exactly proportioned to the expence of the carriage, for the purpoſe of equalizing the benefits to every part of the country, and an operative bounty on export was granted the ſame year.

But in 1784, the ſyſtem was completed by Mr. Foſter's act. This was a wiſe and beneficial law, and the right honourable founder is intitled to credit with the community for it, which is ever the beſt reward for public ſervice. This law completed the corn ſyſtem and has been the means of ſaving the nation many millions, to the great increaſe of trade, proſperity, and revenue of the country.

Local

LOCAL prejudices, profeſſional intereſts, and popular deluſion have attempted to controvert their utility; but the beauties of national improvement, the comforts of national wealth and the virtues of national induſtry have been the benefits and bleſſings derived from them; and we truſt the vigilance and attention of our parliament will be ever awake for the preſervation of the ſyſtem.

VARIOUS branches of manufactures have within theſe few years made a conſiderable progreſs under the encouragement of parliament, particularly the cotton buſineſs which by the laudable exertions, of many individuals at their own private expence, has been brought to the higheſt piteh of perfection. It would be unpardonable as we now are treating of the cotton manufacture, to omit mentioning the great merit of Meſſrs. Clarke, Comerford, and O'Brien, for bringing ſo uſeful and extenſive a branch of manufacture, to ſuch perfection. Their unwearied attention to ſo complicated a buſineſs, as the cotton manufacture, together with the many improvements made by them, in almoſt every proceſs of the work, juſtly entitle them to the thanks of the nation.

THIS branch of buſineſs has made a rapid progreſs at Stratford in the county Wicklow, a part of the kingdom where no other manufacture was carried on before. By this manufacture, eſtabliſhed under the truly reſpectable firm of Meſſrs. Orr and Co. hundreds of the neighbouring poor get daily employment and comfortable ſubſiſtence. The face of the country is viſibly improved, habits of induſtry acquired, and morals and religion cultivated in a place where idleneſs, poverty, rude and ſavage manners ſo generally prevailed, to the diſgrace of the country, the contempt of the magiſtracy, and in direct and open violation of the laws.

IF manufactures were eſtabliſhed in many other parts of the kingdom the public tranquillity would not be ſo ſhamefully interrupted by inſurgents of different denominations, as it has been and ſtill continues to be in ſo many parts of Ireland.

LET the government enlighten the lower orders of the people by a comprehenſive and liberal plan of education; let aſſociations for diſcountenancing vice and propagating virtue

tue, morality and religion be formed throughout the kingdom on a plan ſimilar to that of the Dublin aſſociation; let the magiſtracy of the kingdom, by their example, inculcate good morals, and by their attention to their duty, and that of the peace and happineſs of the kingdom, ſuppreſs the licentiouſneſs, intemperance, and turbulent diſpoſitions of the lower orders of the community. Let the poor be encouraged by leſſening their rack rents, which are ſcrewed from the vitals of induſtry to ſupport luxury, idle parade, and wanton profuſion. Let the immediate cultivator poſſeſs an intereſt in the ſoil, he contributes to fructify, and he will then ſet about the cultivation of it with chearfulneſs and alacrity. Let the wages of labour be alſo encreaſed, by which an additional incentive will be added to induſtry, and rude health infuſed into the looks, of our preſent half-ſtarved and emaciated peaſantry.

If theſe things were done, inſtead of conniving at, and ſometimes inciting the peaſantry to murmur againſt the parſon and tithes, then might we hope to ſee the country flouriſh and the noiſe of inſurrection and ſedition for ever baniſhed the land. The landlord, in order to conceal his own intolerable exactions

artfully turns the attention of the poor to the article of tithes, and lays the blame of all their diſtreſs and wretchedneſs at the door of the church.

But let not the yeomanry of Ireland be any longer duped by ſuch artful deluſions. It is in *rack rents*, and not in *tithes*, the evil complained of ſolely exiſts. Suppoſe, the people were gratified by the abolition of tithes, the landlord, and not the tenant would reap the full benefit of it. This is the reaſon why the landholders are ſo vociferous in their murmurs againſt tithes, and ſo inattentive to the rights of the clergy; as by the abolition of tithes they would ſwell their rent-rolls and be furniſhed with more ample means of eſtabliſhing their petty tyranny throughout the kingdom.

This is not a time to cheriſh diſcontent or countenance commotion, when all Europe is convulſed by the horrors of war. The exceſs of French licentiouſneſs ought to guard all countries againſt the repetition of ſuch ſcenes as would diſcard all ſenſe of religion, honour and humanity. With the example and miſeries

miſeries of France before their eyes all nations, ought to be perſuaded, that it is better to remain ſatisfied with their ſituation, be it what it may, than plunge into all the horrors of anarchy and confuſion, which can have no end but that of deſpotiſm.

In France, ſince the year 1789, a ſeries of events have happened, contrary to all the calculations of probability. An abſolute monarchy converted peaceably into a limited one, and that in an inſtant changed into a republic, accompanied with the murder of their king, and numerous inſtances of horrible and ſhocking barbarity. There is not perhaps a country in Europe whoſe intereſts are not involved in the cataſtrophe of the French revolution.

The eſtabliſhment of a republic in that country, will eventually ſtir up neighbouring kingdoms to imitate their example; and without the utmoſt vigilance and precaution moſt of the ſtates of Europe may experience a ſimilar revolution.

A DEMO-

A DEMOCRACY is ſo abſurd a form of government, that no prudent man will ever encourage ſo wild a ſyſtem. It poſſeſſes neither union of ſentiment, prudence, diſpatch, nor ſecrecy, which are all eſſential to a well-formed government. A democracy only tends to diſtract a nation, and deprive it of happineſs. Our manners, arts, ſciences, and our modes of life; all the enjoyments on which the happineſs and ſpendor of our age depend, are in direct oppoſition to a republican form of government.

IN order to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of government on the baſis of perfect equality among men, we muſt recur to the ſimplicity of primitive ages, and enter once more into a ſtate of nature. In this reſpect the French have erred. Their republican government is founded on the deſtruction of all the advantages of which the preſent age is diſtinguiſhed; in order to attain their object, they conceived it neceſſary to confound every ſpecies of property; and force the human mind into a diſſembled acquieſcence, by cruelty and terror.

In the room of hereditary ariſtocracy, they have ſubſtituted that of the populace, who, being leſs under the dominion of reaſon and ſound education, muſt of courſe exerciſe a tyranny the more intolerable; and this has been the caſe. The palaces and coſtly furniture of the nobility and clergy could not be equally divided, they conſequently became the prey of the moſt daring and impudent plunderers.

Experience proves that it is no difficult taſk to alienate the affections of ſubjects by the ſpecious doctrine of liberty; and that it is much eaſier to overthrow, than to erect: and as the lower orders of the people are moſt numerous in every quarter of the univerſe, every ſtate has to apprehend the example of France and the infuſion of her principles. Thus anarchy, licentiouſneſs, and levelling principles may, without the utmoſt precaution, make the tour of Europe.

The times are truly alarming, and it becomes the duty of every good citizen to contribute to the preſervation of our preſent ſyſtem of government, and to ſet his face

face againſt the introduction of wild fantaſtical and democratic ſyſtems. The doctrines frequently held forth, that republican governments are eſſentially neceſſary to conſtitue liberty, we abſolutely deny; our own conſtitution gives a direct contradiction to the aſſertion.

A. D. 1792. LIBERTY, in its proper acceptation, conſiſts in obeying ſuch laws as are framed by the people themſelves. It is in thoſe laws the ſovereignty reſides, and where the king to whom the execution of the law is committed, is equally ſubject to it as any of his people, there they enjoy as much freedom as is compatible with true happineſs. But where democracy reigns triumphant, there anarchy and horror, erect their bloody ſtandard.

AT ſuch a criſis, it behoves all thoſe who are bleſſed with affluence to devote a portion of it, in encouraging the trade, commerce, and manufactures of this country, where for a length of time abſurd and impolitic laws had fettered the efforts of the nation with reſpect to its commerce and manufactures, and debarred

debarred the great maſs of the people from becoming uſeful to themſelves or to the community.

WHEREFORE the man who wiſhes to promote the temporal and ſpiritual happineſs of the people, will be moſt ſedulous in deviſing ways and means to keep them uſefully employed; ſuch a man will be juſtly eſteemed a public bleſſing, as induſtry is the ſource of all the comforts and ſolid advantages that mankind enjoy; on the contrary, idleneſs is the origin of moſt of the evils and calamities which we labour under.

A WORK of diſtinguiſhed merit has lately made its appearance on the important ſubject of providing employment for the people. It is the production of the learned and ingenious Doctor Crumpe, of Limerick. In this work, with great depth of erudition and ability, the Doctor inveſtigates generally the errors and defects which obſtruct and check the ſprings of induſtry and labour, and he points out the beſt mode of providing general employment for the whole kingdom. He ably

ably refutes the imputation of indolence, attached to the Iriſh character by ſuperficial obſervers. The performance is well worth the peruſal of every lover of his country.

THE miniſter, in the late act for encouraging the brewery by diſcouraging the diſtilleries, encreaſed the revenue without removing the intoxication. By this act, whiſkey was to be rendered unattainable by raiſing it an halfpenny a quart, and ſtrong beer was to be brought into conſumption by lowering it the one hundredth part of a farthing a quart. This was the encouragement to bring a wholeſome beverage into general uſe, as the antidote to a moſt calamitous and deleterious poiſon.

THE object of Mr. Latouche's bill, was not only to lower the duty, but to take off the reſtrictions affecting the brewery, in order to give it a decided preference. But to this act, they have added a new reſtriction affecting the quantity of liquors each brewer made; and in order to exclude the ſmaller brewer from the trade, they impoſed a new reſtriction. Thus in fact the bill has operated to the encreaſe of revenue and the continuation of intoxication

intoxication; to the manifeſt loſs of the community, by deſtroying the health and morals of the people. This is an evil of the firſt magnitude, and loudly calls on the legiſlature for reformation.

Ten years had now elapſed ſince the cauſe of the Roman Catholics had particularly engaged the attention of parliament. The good offices we owe to each other, the indulgence which is due to fellow ſubjects recommended and endeared by the unimpeached conduct of a century, naturally call our attention to the ſubject, at a period when the public mind is become more enlightened, and when prejudices are daily yielding to confidence and affection.

In the year 1774, the legiſlature firſt gratified the Roman Catholics with an opportunity of teſtifying their allegiance, by framing an oath for them, competent to that teſt, without implicating any article of religious faith or ſpeculative opinion. Four years after, the legiſlature wiſely confiding in their oaths, rewarded their fidelity by many ſubſtantial conceſſions.

In the year 1784, the ſpirit of toleration further extended itſelf, and gained a further aſcendancy in favour of the Roman Catholics. The ſyſtem of intolerance began ſomewhat to relax, and what prejudice had adopted as a preſervation, moderation began now to view as little ſhort of oppreſſion.

On the 25th of January, 1792, Sir Hercules Langriſhe, introduced a bill into parliament for removing certain reſtraints and diſabilities under which his majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects laboured, from ſtatutes at that time in force.

It was Sir Hercules's plan, to give the Roman Catholic the practice and profeſſion of the law: to reſtore them to education entire and unreſtrained, and to allow intermarriage, by repealing that cruel ſtatute that tends to betray female credulity, and illegitamizes the offspring of a virtuous mother. And, finally, to remove thoſe obſtructions to arts and manufactures that limit the number of apprentices, which are neceſſary to aſſiſt and promote trade. This paſſed into a law.

THUS the legality of intermarriage between proteſtants and catholics was eſtabliſhed. The univerſity was thrown open to the catholics, and they were admitted to the benefits of education, and all reſtrictions upon their induſtry, in trade and manufactures, were removed.

A. D. 1792. A PETITION from the Catholics of Dublin, was preſented this ſeſſion, praying to be admitted to a participation of the elective franchiſe. In ſupport of the petition it was maintained, that admitting the catholics to a participation of the elective franchiſe, would not, as was by many ſeriouſly apprehended, affect the ſettlement of the conſtitution at the revolution of 1688.

ON conſulting the hiſtory of our country, we find, that there was not any ſettlement of the conſtitution of Ireland at that period; the ſecurity of our religion and property were the benefits which the proteſtants of Ireland derived from the revolution; eſſential and important advantages, which juſtly entitle the event to commemoration. But our efforts to obtain a participation of the benefits of the ſettlement

ſettlement of the conſtitution of England at the revolution, and of thoſe meaſures for the ſecurity of the rights and liberties of the ſubject which grew out of that ſettlement, have been invariably reſiſted by the Britiſh miniſtry.

THE act by which the Roman Catholics were deprived of the elective franchiſe paſſed at a period long ſubſequent to the revolution. It had not originated in any delinquency of the people of that perſuaſion, the law was enacted after the experience of twenty years of their peaceable conduct, and which they had ſince uniformly purſued, untainted by the example of two rebellions in the ſiſter kingdom.

THE reaſons aſſigned for rejecting the bill were, that Ireland was the laſt of all nations of Europe, which felt the hand of civilization, and that it would be imprudent to impart the full benefits of the conſtitution, to men who were not as yet competent to receive it. That it would be impolitic to offer the privileges of perfect ſociety to thoſe that were ſcarcely in the firſt ſtage of civilization.

It was inſiſted that we ſhould wait till the late laws in their favour had operated, to ſee their effects. That to intereſt the catholics in the ſettlement of property, the power of purchaſing lands had been given them, that they had been allowed the benefits of education to enlighten them, and that by intermarriage with catholics, we would encreaſe our connection and render our intereſt the ſame; and that having admitted them to the bar, their minds would become more liberal; but it was contended, that all thoſe cauſes ſhould operate before the elective franchiſe, the *ultimatum* of power, was conferred on them.

Parties are neceſſary in a free ſtate, but religion when brought into party, muſt always be deſtructive. In this kingdom it has been too long the caſe; would we could forget its conſequences!

The petition of the catholics praying to be admitted to the elective franchiſe, was rejected by a majority of ſeventy five.

When Ireland aſſerted her right to trade with the whole world, there was no reſervation made with regard to India. We might have proceeded directly to thoſe wealthy regions, had we not reſtrained ourſelves by our revenue law. Laſt ſeſſion the attention of the houſe was drawn to this important queſtion. It was clearly proved that Ireland paid upwards of 500,000l. a year to England for India goods alone; but this year, the reaſons for aſſerting our right, were ſtronger than they were laſt; inaſmuch, as the miniſter was to ſettle his bargain with the Eaſt India company, which, if he was permitted to do without any claim being made on the part of Ireland, it might be alledged that we had tacitly renounced our rights in favour of the Eaſt India company.

In order to obviate ſuch conſtructions, and thereby to open a direct trade between this country and India. Mr. Ponſonby moved, for leave to bring in a bill, to repeal every law which prohibited a trade from Ireland to the countries lying Eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope.

When

When we had obtained the free trade in the year 1779, the India trade was omitted, it was alſo omitted in the year 1782. In 1783 and 1784. Mr. Corry with that zeal and integrity which have ever marked his character in the ſervice of his country, moved for a committee to take into conſideration the Eaſt India trade; and the right of the country was in conſequence acknowledged. But Mr. Corry did not preſs the buſineſs any farther, clearly perceiving he had not ſupport to carry it into effect.

Our right to the trade being thus eſtabliſhed, it was conceived to be moſt prudent to accede to a temporary relinquiſhment of the exerciſe of it. The trade to China was conceived to be the worſt for a country ſituated like this, which required a quick return, and not the very ſlow one, which a trade that requires a navigation equal to the circumference of the globe would yield: Such is the trade of China. It was not a trade that exported manufacture and brought home money, nor even a trade which exchanged manufacture for manufacture, but a trade which required an export of money, and a return of manufacture, and that too the ſloweſt poſſible return.

Doctor Adam Smith, who may be conſidered one of the firſt political writers of the age, is of opinion, that it would be better for a country of ſmall capital, to buy for ſome time even at an high price from other European nations, the Eaſt India goods it had occaſion for, than to import them directly from the Eaſt Indies.

What it might loſe by the high price of theſe goods, he ſays could ſeldom be equal to the loſs which it would ſuſtain by the deſtruction of a large portion of its capital from other employments, more neceſſary, or more ſuitable to its circumſtances and ſituation than a direct trade to India. Mr. Ponſonby's motion fell to the ground, on which occaſion he declared that he never would vote with any adminiſtration until this, and the other meaſures to which he and the gentlemen with whom he acted, were pledged, ſhould be obtained.

Mr. James Stewart, member for the county Tyrone, has on many occaſions demonſtrated his patriotiſm and integrity in the

the ſenate; but his exertions on behalf of the preſbyterian clergy, during this ſeſſion, do honour to his humanity, and have impreſſed a body of loyal ſubjects, who were by no means rewarded according to their merits or wants, with ſentiments of gratitude not to be obliterated.

THE preſbyterian miniſters of the province of Ulſter, are a body of men, whoſe characters and conduct place them high in the eſtimation of their country. Mr. Stewart moved the houſe relative to ſome further proviſion for thoſe miniſters. And it muſt be allowed that no body of people have a ſtronger claim on the generoſity of parliament.

THE preſbyterians of Ulſter are taught by the example, as well as the precepts of their clergy, to be peaceable, induſtrious, obedient to the laws, and reſpectful to magiſtracy. By the charge on the eſtabliſhment in favour of non-conforming miniſters, the dividend amongſt them did not on an average exceed 10l. each, a ſum totally inadequate to their wants and their meritorious ſervices.

To this, is to be added a ſum of 800l. a year, paid out of the king's privy purſe, and which ſum is now equally divided between the ſynod of Ulſter and the miniſters of the Southern aſſociation; this was a grant of George the I. as an acknowledgement for the ſervices of the preſbyterians of Ireland, in ſupport of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; to which ſucceſſion the preſent poſſeſſors of the grant are as ſtrongly attached as their predeceſſors were.

In conſequence of Mr. Stewart's repreſentation, it was unanimouſly agreed to by the houſe of commons, that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, beſeeching him to take into his conſideration the ſituation of the preſbyterian miniſters of this kingdom, and to make ſuch further proviſion for them, as in his wiſdom and bounty he ſhall think fit, and that the houſe would make good the ſame.

In the event of this buſineſs, no leſs than half a million of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects were deeply involved, men whoſe attachment to the ſovereign and his illuſtrious family is unqueſtionable

tionable, and who proved themſelves the hereditary friends of that happy conſtitution to the eſtabliſhment of which their anceſtors ſo eminently contributed.

In bringing before parliament a ſubject of ſuch importance, the preſbyterians were happy in the ſelection of their advocate, who for reſpectability and character is ſecond to no man in the kingdom, and his ſupport muſt add a weight and dignity to every cauſe that becomes the object of it.

On the 27th of February, as the houſe of commons ſat in committee, to enquire into the effect of the ſpirit regulation, and were examining witneſſes on the ſubject, they were interrupted by the confuſed voices of perſons on the roof. The houſe being alarmed, the clerk was ſent up to examine what had happened, he in a few moments gave notice from above, that the roof was on fire, and that the dome would probably fall in within five minutes.

The Speaker, with that coolneſs and preſence of mind, peculiar to himſelf, immediately

ately reſumed the chair and put the queſtion of adjournment which paſſed without oppoſition, as may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, on ſuch an emergency.

NOTWITHSTANDING every poſſible aſſiſtance was inſtantly given, yet the progreſs of the fire was ſo dreadfully rapid, that in leſs than two hours the houſe of commons, whoſe beautiful architecture and diſpoſition, excited the admiration of foreigners, was burned to the ground.

IN this dreadful accident none of the records and journals of the houſe were deſtroyed, owing to the vigilance and uncommon exertion of the Speaker. The gentlemen of the college, the military and all deſcriptions of citizens who attended, uſed their utmoſt and moſt anxious efforts for the preſervation of the building and the protection of every article of importance, and their exertions were crowned with a great degree of ſucceſs in preventing any farther miſchief than had unavoidably occurred.

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As the public mind was conſiderably alarmed by this dreadful conflagration, it was thought expedient to appoint a committee for the purpoſe of enquiring into the cauſe and origin of this unfortunate event. After the committee had ſat for a conſiderable length of time, and had made the moſt ſerious enquiry into the cauſe of the fire by which the interior of the houſe was burned, yet the ſubſtance of the report was, that the fire was entirely owing to an accidental cauſe. Thus the infamous imputations alledged againſt the catholics, reverted back on the heads of the baſe authors of the vile calumny, which was ſo induſtriouſly circulated and ſo eagerly ſwallowed by their enemies, who attempted on this occaſion to blacken their characters, by aſcribing a fire that was proved to have been purely accidental, to the machinations of a popiſh plot. But the report of the committee completely ſilenced the further propagation of ſo unfounded and ſo malignant a charge.

THIS ſeſſion, a reciprocal preference in the corn-trade with Great Britain was carried into effect, a ſyſtem beneficial to both countries and eſſentially advantageous to the agriculture

of

of this kingdom. Some further ſteps were taken to check the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, but a decided preference had by no means been given to our breweries.

The conſequence was, what might reaſonably have been expected; that the conſumption of beer had decreaſed, and that of home ſpirits had encreaſed, and this will ever be the caſe, until all reſtrictions are totally removed from the brewery. During this ſeſſion, oppoſition was as unſucceſsful as in the laſt; the place, penſion, reſponſibility and police bills, were rejected.

It appeared that one eighth of the groſs revenue of the kingdom, which conſiſted of 1,600,000l. was divided amongſt members of parliament. One hundred and thirteen place men and penſioners were in parliament. By ſuch inſtruments, adminiſtration was governing the country, thro' a ſyſtem replete with evil, and if not checked, will eventually overwhelm the conſtitution.

There is no man capable of reflection, who does not ſee this country verging to ſome grand criſis; we hope, not to an union with Britain

Britain nor yet to war, but to reformation, effected not by the violence of the people, but by their weight, operating on a conſtitutional and parliamentary ſcale. But ſhould our repeated efforts to controul the progreſs of unconſtitutional influence not ſucceed, doubt and darkneſs cloud our future proſpects, and danger and confuſion may uſher in the next century.

Money reſted upon paper, is the ſupport of our government; ſhould that ſink under the hand of time, the government would vaniſh; ſo ſunk the government of France, becauſe it relied not on the affections of the people, but on revenue. Cicero enumerates four modes of government; by affection, confidence, admiration and corruption. Our government it muſt be admitted, is not ſupported by the two firſt modes: it excites no doubt admiration, but it is of that ſpecies, which profuſion and extravagance never fail to produce.

The mode of governing a country by corruption, is a weak and imprudent one, unſtable

ſtable as the paper, which is its inſtrument, and fleeting as the affections of the proſtitute it buys.

If Ireland was a country, vigorous in a flouriſhing democracy, or an independent yeomanry, perhaps influence might then be deemed expedient to counteract the too high tone of democracy. But the reverſe being the ſituation of the country, the neceſſity for a weight of influence in parliament does not exiſt.

In the reign of William, the crown had no ſway in parliament whatſoever, and yet was in no danger. It was a weak defence in government, that they only did what their predeceſſors had done; as well might the harlot defend her infamy by the proſtitution of her parent, or man his courage by the tergiverſation of his father.

The progreſs of civilization, and that of knowledge, have encreaſed the illumination of man, to that degree; that ſuch miniſterial

arguments

arguments inſtead of convincing the people, tend only to excite their ridicule and indignation.

And if government be determined to perſevere in their uſual mode of proceeding; they will find themſelves totally miſtaken, as they will be as incompetent to govern by ſuch modes as they have formerly purſued, as the mariner, ever accuſtomed to peaceful ſeas never ruffled by the ſtorm, would, to guide his bark in the immenſe and troubled ocean.

It is with no leſs diffidence than pain, that we find ourſelves obliged to differ on the ſubject of tithes, from a modern writer of acknowledged merit and talents. He places tithes under the head of injudicious taxes, operating as a clog to induſtry, and an impediment to agriculture.

We freely admit, that on a ſuperficial view of the ſubject, tithes, appeared to us in the ſame point of view; but in conducting our reſearches with that attention the importance

tance of the ſubject demanded, we are clearly decided in opinion, that the abolition of tithes would ultimately, neither tend to the improvement of the country, nor the benefit of the peaſantry. We appeal to the good ſenſe of the people of Ireland; would the peaſantry of the country, be relieved an atom of their burthens, were lands totally exempt from tithes?

THE landlord would immediately avail himſelf of the exemption, by raiſing the rents, and encreaſing his rent-roll. And in whatever mode the clergy would be provided for by the legiſlature, the people would ſtill be ſubject to the payment of the proviſion ſubſtituted in the place of tithes, for the maintenance of the clergy.

TITHES, and the laws by which they have been eſtabliſhed and regulated, upon a cloſe inſpection, will appear to have been admirably well contrived for the ſupport of the clergy, and the eaſe of the people. By this mode of ſubſiſtence, the property of the clergyman riſes and falls, as is moſt equitable, with that

that of his parishoners, and bears a fair proportion to the progress or declension of the country.

In bad seasons, the farmers suffering under the hardships of scanty crops, are not burthened with the payment of a fixed annual sum, as their quota to the clergyman; but are called on, at their own option to pay a sum of money, as a moderate compensation for the tenth part of such scanty crops, or to set out to the parson, the legal tenth part of the crop, beyond which no avarice of the clergyman, nor management of his farmers, nor proctors, can ever augment the amount of such tithes.

Thus it becomes the parson's private interest to encourage and promote habits of temperance, industry, and skill amongst his parishoners; and thus his spiritual connection with them, becomes strengthened, by the additional incitement of temporal advantage.

Speculative writers have propoſed ſundry plans for the maintenance of the clergy, but they appear in general too viſionary and flimſy, to merit obſervation. Some have expreſſed a wiſh that the proviſion for the clergy ſhould be aſcertained in money from time to time, by commiſſioners, then preſented by grand juries, and applotted and levied, as county charges and preſentments are at preſent in this kingdom.

But wretched indeed would be the property and intereſts of our clergy, and conſequently our religion, if they were entruſted to intereſted commiſſioners, jobbing grand juries, and venal applotters, together with the various evils which ſpread through the entire ſyſtem of grand jury legiſlation and electioneering finance.

It is a well known fact, that among the real grievances of the diſtreſſed peaſantry of Ireland, the ſhameful and prodigal grants of their money, by the rural legiſlators of their counties, to thoſe moſt abandoned miſcreants, the profeſſed road makers, bridge makers, and affidavit men, is one of the moſt crying and moſt notorious.

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THE modes of applotment often add to the original burthen, the exaction of conſtables under pretence of a delay of payment, are often cruel and oppreſſive: and diſputes, animoſity, and litigation, are the conſtant conſequences of the apportionment of theſe county charges.

WITH the conviction that this is the true ſtate of the caſe, it would be madneſs to adopt ſo unpopular and ſo deteſted a mode of providing for the clergy, which would then become tenfold more oppreſſive and deteſted:

THE mode would prove highly injurious to the clergy whom we eſteem, or at leaſt affect to eſteem, and who moſt unqueſtionably merit it. It would alſo be a grievance and odious to that body of the people, whom we either wiſh or affect to relieve from their preſent diſtreſſes.

IF the men of landed property in Ireland did not ſuffer their paſſion for foreign luxuries and vices, to render it neceſſary to deviſe ſchemes for racking their tenantry, and raiſing their lands to an artificial value; then might we ſhortly ſee a vigorous and flouriſhing yeo-

ry, and never hear the voice of tumult or inſurrection, nor a murmur uttered againſt the inſtitution of tithes.

But unfortunately the thirſt for gaming, and various other inſatiate and artificial wants, has reduced the landlord to conſider his eſtate as his wares and merchandize; and then with the ſpirit of a pedlar, he retails them to the higheſt bidder; *hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

It is a melancholy truth, that the ſtate of the peaſantry in moſt parts of Ireland is wretched in the extreme. It is the bounden duty of the men of landed property to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the peaſantry by all poſſible means; but unfortunately many of the principal nobility and gentry, do not reſide on their eſtates, and are therefore inſenſible to the diſtreſſes which they do not ſee, and to which they flatter themſelves they do not adminiſter any occaſion.

Many of the reſident gentlemen unwilling to leſſen their incomes, to check their pleaſures, or to admit the juſtneſs of thoſe complaints which they are not inclined to remove, have convinced

evinced a diſpoſition not friendly to the rights of the eſtabliſhed clergy; and at all times, and on all occaſions, have contrived to diminiſh that reſpect and reverence which all men, particularly thoſe of the lower order of the community ſhould be taught to entertain for the functions, properties, and perſons, of the miniſter's of religion. The example of ſuperiors have a moſt powerful influence over the conduct of inferiors, whoſe paſſions are eaſily inflamed and whoſe ignorance will not ſuffer them to diſcern the artifices of thoſe, whoſe object is, to lead them on to deſtruction.

GRIEVANCES were pointed out, which had no exiſtence, or which, if exiſting, might readily have been removed by an appeal to the known law of the land; but a ſurer method was pointed out by which the great purpoſe might be accompliſhed, and the confederated oppoſers of the clergy be kept without the reach of ſevere and capital puniſhment. The miſchief thus encouraged, made a wide and rapid progreſs through the kingdom, even to the very ſhores of the Atlantic: like the *Typhon* in the Indian ſeas, which at firſt appears as a ſmall ſpeck in the weſt, level with the horizon,

then gradually riſes to the zenith, and covers the whole ocean with lightnings, ſtorms, and devaſtation.

AMONG the inſurgents ſome men were found of leſs prudence and more active ſpirits, than thoſe cool ſpecious men, who by their cunning had planned, and by their conſequence had ſupported the original diſturbances in the country. Thus the actors in the tragic ſcene became regardleſs of the directions of their reſpectable prompters, and were hurried on by a barbarous impetuoſity.

UNDER pretence of redreſſing grievances, private revenge was frequently gratified in the moſt dreadful manner. In the midnight hour, armed parties marched from houſe to houſe, and collected fire arms, by menaces, by force, and ſometimes by torture; they exacted heavy contributions from all deſcriptions of people, for the purchaſe of ammunition, and the general ſupport of the common cauſe; they burned the tithes of the clergy, and the hay-yards of ſuch farmers as had dared to comply with the laws; and they threatened the houſes of the clergy

clergy, and of thoſe few magiſtrates, who had meditated an active oppoſition to their proceedings.

WHETHER the peaſantry are in themſelves really irritated againſt the clergy, or artfully miſled by cool and deſigning men, whoſe averſion to all religion, prompts them to arm the hands of the populace for its ſubverſion; or whether there lurked in ſecret, a fixed intention gradually to overturn all the orders of the ſtate, and to begin with that, which in theſe days of religious indifference has leaſt advocates and protectors; the effects are undoubtedly the ſame, and all ranks of people are now called upon, when the magnitude of the evil is apparent, to exert their beſt endeavours to check the progreſs of the contagion.

THOSE who have the apppointment of the magiſtrates ought to uſe the utmoſt caution in ſelecting honeſt and independent men for that order. If the magiſtracy be permitted to fall into contempt, and that the execution of the laws in the diſtant counties, far removed from the ſupreme courts and the eye of go-

vernment, be entruſted to the ignorant, the ſordid, the timid, the profligate, or the neceſſitous; the laws themſelves will be deſpiſed, abhorred, and at length oppoſed, while univerſal ruin muſt inevitably enſue.

THE clergy are a claſs of people, who from their education, their habits, and their profeſſion, are the leaſt likely to be ſubject to the diſhoneſt and diſhonourable practices of enforcing enormous exactions in the caſe of tithes, men whoſe benevolence and charity uſually prompt them to a chearful relaxation from, and diminution of their legal rights.

ON what ground then do the arguments reſt, which have been urged for the annihilation of the tithe ſyſtem? On the unſupported aſſertions of men, whoſe ignorance, prejudices, turbulent diſpoſitions and actions, entitle them to no poſſible degree of credit in the preſent caſe; and if grievances actually exiſt in this point, can the legiſlature receive inſulting propoſitions, from a nocturnal banditti, either actuated by the infatuation of their own minds, or guided by the ſecret counſels of men

men in more elevated ranks, totally regardleſs of every thing but their own intereſt, and the exaltation of the party to which theybelong?

In the northern parts of the kingdom, agitators of public tranquillity have broke out under various deſignations, firſt oak-boys, right boys, hearts of ſteel, and peep of day boys. Some few years ſince, the dregs of thoſe inſurgents known by the name of hearts of ſteel, frequently and wantonly inſulted the catholics when going to their devotion, and at burials, conſequently frequent riots enſued, and ſome blood was ſpilt. To repel theſe inſults and wanton attacks, the catholics armed for the purpoſe of ſelf defence, from whence they were denominated *Defenders*. Their opponents choſe the dawn of day, for making their attacks on the houſes of the catholics, and from thence were called *Peep of day Boys*. Their object at firſt was to ſearch for arms, but from that, they proceeded to open rapine, pillage, and murder.

These evils were ſuffered to proceed to an alarming extent, either through the indolence, or deſign of the magiſtrates, who, from

from their poverty might be induced to connive at these measures, in hopes, that when the alarm would reach the ear of government, the police act would be extended to that part of the kingdom under which they, or their creatures, might obtain appointments.

We may rest satisfied, those disturbances were fomented and cherished by the enemies of the catholic body, in order to render them completely odious in the eyes of government; for surely it could not be the interest of the catholics, when soliciting the legislature for the repeal of the penal laws, to exasperate government by outrageous commotions. But the infatuated and deluded populace were duped, and misled by a set of miscreants, whose object it was, either to derive emolument from exciting insurrections, or to stamp the catholics with infamy and disgrace.

But it is most devoutly to be wished, that the infernal prompters of a wretched and misled people, may shortly be dragged into open day, and there meet that ignominious fate,

fate, to which their ſeditious counſels, and artful machinations, have recently brought many unfortunate victims.

It gave every liberal mind much ſatisfaction to find that the ſpeech from the throne at the opening of this ſeſſion, recommended to the attention of parliament, the ſituation of the Roman catholics: the loyalty and good conduct of that people, were rapidly removing the prejudices of the conſtituent body, and there could be no doubt, that his majeſty's recommendation would have infinite weight, not only with parliament, but with all ranks of the community.

The ſituation, however of the country was truly alarming, but it was the obvious and natural reſult of his majeſty's miniſters. The men who oppoſed the liberty of Ireland in 1782, were made our miniſters. Ireland afterwards forgave them, but they did not forgive the country, they attempted to put down the conſtitution, and were now endeavouring to put down the government.

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our title of liberty; and now the king himſelf comes as the ſecond deliverer of his people: this we truſt the Roman Catholics will not forget, nor that the parliamentary perſecutions againſt them, which had been unremitting ſince the revolution, have ceaſed from the commencement of the reign of George III. who was the firſt prince on the throne ſince the impoſition of the penal ſtatutes that ventured to recommend their loyalty, and grievances to the conſideration of their countrymen. Wherefore, they are in gratitude bound, to be the prop of his crown, and the ſupport of our excellent conſtitution. And it is ſcarcely poſſible that they can ever for a moment be unmindful of what they owe to their beneficent ſovereign.

It would be doing injuſtice to the catholics, not to mention, that they to a man, abhor the late proceedings in France. They never make the conduct of that unfortunate and infatuated country, the theme of their praiſe; they have held no political correſpondence with foreign powers, nor rejoiced in the ſucceſſes that gave impunity to ruffians, who murdered their ill-fated and innocent prince; a prince

prince of integrity, untinctured with ambition, and whoſe actions were only improper, when under the influence of thoſe who poſſeſſed leſs rectitude than himſelf.

With reſpect to the French revolution, the overthrow of deſpotiſm was to every honeſt man, an object of admiration. But the ſubſequent conduct of France, was neither an object of admiration nor imitation; it was an overthrow of theories, and a confuſion of principles, a frantic and impracticable purſuit.

At this period, the conduct of adminiſtration indicated an alarm, and marked an apprehenſion of danger from within or from without. We were actually on the eve of a war with France, at ſuch a moment it behoved our parliament to exhibit undoubted proofs to the nation of their integrity, virtue and energy.

The public mind was deeply diſguſted, and the cauſe of diſcontent had diffuſed itſelf through the nation. It was generally believed, that although the adminiſtration had promiſed

miſed œconomy, it had really practiſed profuſion; that the public money had been laviſhed and the taxes that were wrung from the vitals of the poor had been beſtowed upon the indolent and wealthy: it was alſo believed, that our repreſentatives were purchaſed with the public money to ſell their conſtituents.

WHEREFORE ſince public profuſion was one of the great cauſes of general diſcontent, public œconomy was the only meaſure to remove that ſource of diſcontent from the minds of the public. All real grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and no benefit withheld from the nation which ought to be granted to it, for the cauſe muſt be aboliſhed before it is poſſible to remove the public diſcontent.

OUR public taxes ought to be impoſed upon the proper ſubjects of taxation, and ſolely applied to the honeſt purpoſes of the ſtate. No civil nor political benefit, enjoyed by Great Britain ſhould be denied to Ireland; and our conſtitution ſhould be rendered equal to that of her's, in all its properties, privileges, and protection. We have heard it juſtly ſaid by a diſtinguiſhed character in the ſenate, in

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ſpeaking of Great Britain and Ireland *equal* "*dangers and equal benefits.* Let Ireland "ſhare in all the perils of England, and in "all the bleſſings ſhe enjoys". We muſt be their equals in misfortune; and why ſhould we be their inferiors in happineſs? The ſituation of the empire and the temper of the times, are but ill ſuited to the refuſal of all juſt and temperate demands on behalf of the people.

He is the true friend of the government, who would remove every cauſe of diſcontent from the minds of the people; and the government, which reſiſts ſuch meaſures, adopts the moſt effectual means to weaken and deſtroy itſelf. It is in the power of parliament to give ample ſatisfaction to a brave, loyal, and generous people, by redreſſing all their wrongs, and gratifying all their juſt deſires, for the bulk of the Iriſh nation are neither unreaſonable, nor ſeditious, they love their king, admire the conſtitution and wiſh only to purify and preſerve it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Subjects of a more equal Representation of People in Parliament introduced by Mr. William Ponsonby—An address of Thanks presented by the House of Commons to the Lord Lieutenant for his Proclamation of the 8th of December, 1792 for dispersing all unlawful Assemblies and presenting Seditious Associations—The Catholic Business introduced by Secretary Hobart and the Bill in their favour carried—Mr. Grattan's Resolutions relative to Parliamentary Reform, got rid of on an Amendment of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—His Majesty communicates his Intentions relative to France, to the Parliament of Ireland—Their firm determination to Support his Majesty in the War—State of the Country as to its Finance—Mr. Forbes's Bill for limiting Pensions adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—A place Bill, also the Establishment of a Treasury Board—An act for Preventing Conventions or other unlawful Assemblies—An Enquiry into the amount of the Population of Ireland—A Short Review

Review of the State of the Empire from the Reign of William to the Year 1790, *and from that to* 1794—*Reflections which naturally reſult from the nature of the work and the delicacy of the undertaking—The happy State of Ireland when compared with other Countries and its own former Situation.*

A. D. 1793. THAT abuſes have crept into the ſyſtem of our parliamentary repreſentation are acknowledged univerſally by every member of the community. With a view to remedy theſe abuſes, early in this ſeſſion, Mr. William Ponſonby ſubmitted a propoſal to the houſe, for a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament.

THE Ponſonby family have frequently made ſacrifices to the country. In the year 1769, they and their connections, were deprived of all their emoluments for ſupporting the privileges of the houſe againſt an altered money bill. And in 1789, they were alſo diſmiſſed from their employments, for defending the privileges of parliament

againſt an unconſtitutional attempt of the vice roy, and this was the third time in which they advanced to ſurrender great power, and all their monopolies to the good of the ſtate.

Such family ſacrifices to the public weal, juſtly entitle them to the thanks of the community, and add to that reſpectability, which they ſo eminently derive from their property, character, talents, and integrity. A committee was immediately appointed, to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the country.

At the cloſe of the preceding year, the lord lieutenant and privy council, had iſſued a proclamation for diſperſing all unlawful aſſemblies, and for preventing ſeditious aſſociations. This was occaſioned by ſome modern volunteer corps who had made uſe of diſaffected emblems. Theſe were univerſally deprecated in the ſtrongeſt terms and ought certainly to be oppoſed, but the old volnnteers ſhould by no means be implicated in the charge.

The proclamation arraigned a body of men whom it deſcribed to be an aſſociation aſ-

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ſuming devices and emblems of diſaffection. But the miniſter had applied that to the volunteers of the city and county of Dublin, and under that colour diſperſed them. This certainly was impolitic, as a line of diſtinction ſhould have been draw between the old volunteers and the modern ones known by the appellation of *National Guards.*

An addreſs of thanks was unanimouſly agreed to by the houſe and was preſented to his excellency the lord lieutenant for communicating to parliament the above proclamation, and for the vigilance and attention which his excellency had manifeſted, to preſerve the public tranquillity; and in applauding the wiſdom of his excellency, in ſeparating thoſe who ſo laudably aſſociated for the purpoſes of defending this country, from foreign invaſion, from thoſe whoſe declared objects were tumult, diſaffection, and ſedition, and to aſſure his excellency that they would concur in ſuch meaſures, as would carry the ſaid proclamation into effect.

When the volunteers received the thanks of parliament, in the year 1779, the object

was to attach them to the parliament; and the object was a right one. But that now carried, was certainly to detach them from the parliament. The miniſter, in the proclamation, did not venture to arraign the old volunteers, neither did he attempt to arraign them in the addreſs, approving of the proclamation; on the contrary, they were objects of commendation in both. But when he ſpoke, he departed from the addreſs and proclamation, and propoſed ſuch an interpretation of both, as would enable him to diſperſe the old volunteers under the ſeeming ſanction of parliament.

Thus he made the houſe, at once praiſe the old volunteer corps and then put ſuch a comment on that praiſe, as amounted to a propoſal to diſperſe them for diſaffection.

Never ſince the revolution was there a time, when more prejudice prevailed againſt the catholics than laſt ſeſſion of parliament. But a favourable change of diſpoſition had now manifeſted itſelf, ſimply ariſing from the change of the times. Every rational proteſtant now ſaw the utter impoſſibility of maintaining a mo-

a monopoly oppoſite to reaſon, to the bulk of the people, and the inclination of the ſovereign. The conduct of the catholics had proved, that they were perfectly attached to the conſtitution, and at this period merited every encouragement parliament could beſtow.

WHEREFORE, in purſuance of his majeſty's recommendation, ſecretary Hobart introduced his bill for their relief. The outlines of which were to grant an unlimited extenſion of the right of franchiſe, and to effectuate this purpoſe, it was neceſſary to repeal the firſt of George II. by which Roman Catholics would not be permitted to vote in cities and towns corporate for magiſtrates. The next part of it was to repeal the ſixth of Anne, ſo far as it prohibits papiſts from being grand jurors, unleſs there are not a ſufficient number of Proteſtant freeholders to ſerve. The next was to repeal the twenty-ninth of George II. ſo far as allowing a challenge againſt any papiſt on a petty-jury, in cauſes where a proteſtant and papiſt are the parties.

It alſo propoſed that his majeſty ſhould be impowered and authoriſed, to enable the Roman Catholics to endow a college or univerſity, and ſchools. It alſo propoſed that the laws which prevented catholics from carrying arms, ſhould be ſo far repealed as to perſons poſſeſſing a certain degree of property.

Mr. Secretary Hobart ſaid that it was in the contemplation of the Engliſh government, to admit Roman Catholics to bear commiſſions in the army and navy, and that in due time, meaſures for the ſame purpoſe would be propoſed here, when a communication with the Engliſh government ſhould have been had, on that point.

It was wiſhed that Roman Catholics might be enabled to hold civil offices, but in that inſtance neceſſary limitations would have been expedient. Roman Catholics laboured ſtill under ſome ſeverities with reſpect to perſonal property, and as theſe ſeemed to exiſt from inadvertence, he propoſed to repeal them. Another material point in his propoſitions was, that the executive government might be enabled to grant commiſſions of the peace to Roman Catholics.

It has always been our ambition, to contribute our humble mite to every meaſure, which in its operation might tend to make the Proteſtant and Catholic coaleſce into an united people, at leaſt while they regulated their religious worſhip under whatever different forms or modes they pleaſed, they ſhould concur in an ardent devotion to their common country.

We have long wiſhed that the time was come, which would form a new æra in the hiſtory of our country, in which religious diſſention ſhould be loſt in civil operation, in which comunity of intereſts and reciprocal good offices, ſhould root out prejudices and unite our hearts,

But until the enlightened ſpirit of liberal policy had given a progreſs to theſe rational diſpoſitions, a communication of political power could not be expected, for reconciliation muſt precede union, and aſſimilation before incorporation. It muſt be admitted by every one converſant in hiſtory, that violent and ſudden changes of power and property, whether the parties have been divided by religious

religious or political diſſentions, have always been dangerous and generally fatal to the ſtate.

The truth is, thoſe who have been accuſtomed to power, cannot bear the privation or ſudden diminution of it with patience; and thoſe unaccuſtomed to it, will not exerciſe it with prudence, it is the progreſs of time alone, that can reconcile and aſſimilate, and it is the progreſs of affection alone that can regulate thoſe paſſions which make one ſide intemperate and the other intolerant.

It muſt be admitted that there have been errors on both ſides, which ought now to be forgotten, and buried in oblivion, never to riſe again. The old dangers of popery which were uſed to alarm the proteſtants, are for ever extinct, and every benefit now conferred on our catholic brethren, ought to operate as an additional pledge of their affection, and as a hoſtage for their fidelity.

The loyalty of the catholics for a century entitled them to thoſe great and important conceſſions, the legiſlature was now ready to confer

ſer upon them. The Hiſtory of England, by Dr. Somerville a diſſenting clergyman, as fair and temperate a work as ever was peruſed: when ſpeaking of James II. he ſays, that though he kept up a conſiderable correſpondence and had aſſurances of aſſiſtance from many perſons in England, yet amongſt all his papers, there never appeared any offer of ſupport or invitation (after the articles of Limerick had been ſigned) to the abdicated monarch, from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, who had done ſo much in his cauſe.

THIS is a teſtimony in favour of catholicity, which we truſt will have a due effect on the ſuſpicions and jealouſies of many of our proteſtant brethren. We never, ſince the revolution, have heard of any riſing or intended riſing among the Roman Catholics; for the exceſſes of the lower orders cannot be conſidered as an inſurrection.

BEFORE Lord Cheſterfield came to Ireland, no man was more prejudiced againſt the catholics than he was, particularly from what he had heard concerning them in England. The commons wiſhed to ſtrengthen the hands of government

government by violent meaſures againſt Roman Catholics; they were oppoſed by the immediate friends of government in parliament, and when the lord lieutenant was urged by the dangers of popery, he delared he knew but of one dangerous papiſt in the whole country, a very beautiful young lady of that perſuaſion.

NOTHING but a retroſpect to their good conduct for 50 years before, could have inſpired Lord Cheſterfield with this confidence, and if he could confide in them on fifty years experience, much more ought we after the lapſe of more than century. After many long unintereſting and deſultory debates, Mr. Secretary Hobart's bill in favour of the Roman Catholics was carried; a meaſure which muſt afford ſatisfaction to every good citizen, and ought to ſatisfy the catholics. The wealth, proſperity and happineſs of the nation will be the reſult of ſuch liberal and prudent conceſſions. For it is an hiſtorical truth that cannot be impeached, that all the misfortunes of Ireland have originated from the diſunion of its inhabitants; that

as soon as the nation had become united, the great objects of liberty had been attained, but catholic emancipation had always been the earnest of Irish freedom.

The unanimity that conceded these progressive acquisitions to catholicity, has stamped a double value on the thing conferred, an unanimity which is the certain symptom of departing prejudices, and the token of returning affection, the graciousness of concession on one side, will, we hope be followed by a grateful acceptance on the other, a conduct which must terminate in a communication of interests and affections between the subjects of a long divided kingdom.

Ireland in consequence of these salutary measures, will shortly take her place in the great rank of nations, and in every conflict with our enemies, the arm of the sovevereign, will be nerved with the strength of his people.

Mr. Grattan read the following resolutions before the committee appointed to enquire

quire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament. "Reſolved that "the repreſentation of the people is attended "with great and heavy charges, and pay- "ments, in conſequence of elections and re- "turns of members to ſerve in parliament, "and that ſaid abuſes ought to be aboliſhed.

"RESOLVED, that of the three hundred mem- "bers elected to ſerve in parliament, the coun- "ties and counties of cities and towns, toge- "ther with the univerſity, return eighty four "members, and that the remaining two hun- "dred and ſixteen are returned by boroughs "and manors."

"RESOLVED, that the ſtate of the repreſenta- "tion of the people in parliament, requires "amendment."

MR. GRATTAN then moved the firſt, which was oppoſed by the chancellor of the exche- quer, on account of the danger of teach- ing the public to deſpiſe the preſent ſyſtem, before a better one was provided; and by way of amendment, he moved the following reſolution.

"RESOLVED, that under the preſent ſyſ- "tem of repreſentation, the privileges of the "people

" people, the trade, and the proſperity of the " country, have greatly encreaſed, and that " if any plan be produced, likely to encreaſe " thoſe advantages, and not hazard what we " already poſſeſs, it ought to be taken into " the moſt ſerious conſideration. The amendment was carried by a conſiderable majority; thus the original motion was loſt.

Mr. Hobart on the 16th. of February delivered a meſſage to the houſe of commons from his majeſty, relative to France. His majeſty informed the houſe, that the aſſembly now exerciſing the powers of government in that country, without previous notice, had directed acts of hoſtility to be committed againſt the perſons and property of his majeſty's ſubjects, in breach of the law of nations and of the moſt poſitive ſtipulations of treaty.

Thus, under ſuch circumſtances, his majeſty had taken the neceſſary ſteps to maintain the honour of his crown; and to vindicate the rights of his people, and that his majeſty relied with confidence, on the firm and effectual ſupport of the commons, and the zeal of a brave and loyal people, in proſecuting a juſt and neceſſary war, and in endeavouring

vouring to oppose an effectual barrier to the further progress of a system, which strikes at the security and peace of independent nations, and which has been pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humility, and justice."

An humble address in pursuance of his message was acceded to, by the house expressive of their hearty concurrence in the prosecution of the war, and of their effectual suppport on the occasion.

If we pause for a moment, to take a view of the country, at the commencement of the French war, we will find from the receipts and disbursements of the nation at Lady Day last, that the country was going on in the most prosperous manner, her trade encreasing, and her revenue's rising; but from that period, trade had drooped, and there was an actual deficiency in revenue, owing much to the disturbed state of the public mind, and the decline of trade occasioned by high and enormous taxes.

As

As the national revenue had decreaſed, the national expence had encreaſed. Bread money lately granted to the army, canals and bounties on corn, together with the encreaſe in the fiſhing bounties, with public buildings, and a variety of other circumſtances contributed to make a conſiderable deficiency in the revenue.

The army was now to be encreaſed, the country to be put into a ſtate of defence, and a militia to be arrayed, and former deficiencies to be made good.

It appeared by the ſtatement of the chancellor of the exchequer, that his demands on the country this year amounted to 950,000l. by loan already granted 200,000l. bythe new loan moved for 250,000l. for the militia 300,000l. and by the ſum iſſued in ſupport of mercantile credit 200,000l.

The 200,000l. iſſued to ſupport the mercantile credit of the country, we will conſider as money advanced, which may probably be returned; but for the preſent the

advance

advance operated as much to the public inconvenience, as if it never were to be returned.

A VERY great defalcation had taken place in the revenue, that for ſome months in the port of Dublin, it had not produced a ſingle ſhilling to the treaſury; the whole produce of it being ſcarcely ſufficient to pay the officers of the cuſtom houſe.

A GENERAL bankruptcy would have pervaded the commercial parts of the community, unleſs government had iſſued money in ſupport of commercial credit. It was now evident, that in this year, the kingdom was to be burthened with upwards of a million extra, at a time when the revenue of our metropolis was not ſufficient to pay its officers. At this time commercial calamity was general throughout the kingdom, and it was in vain to hope, that any parliamentary grant, would completely remedy it, as the whole revenue of the kingdom would ſcarcely be ſufficient for that purpoſe.

On this occaſion, the prudence of the chancellor of the exchequer was highly to be applauded. He did every thing on this trying emergency that a real affection for the country could effect, to ſerve the credit and commerce of the nation; and his candour was ſuch, that he promiſed as far as in him lay, to make every neceſſary reduction and retrenchment in the public expenditure. He admitted the principle of Mr. Forbes's penſion bill, by which the penſion liſt was to be limited in future to 80,000l. per annum.

The chancellor of the exchequer propoſed to introduce a bill to effect this meaſure, which would not only diminiſh the influence of the crown, but be a conſiderable ſaving of the public money. He however declared, that, at a time when a retrenchment of the public expence was to be made; it would be neceſſary to provide a civil liſt for his majeſty in lieu of his hereditary revenue.

It was intended, that the quantum of the civil liſt, ſhould be ſpecific, and granted for life, which would prevent an augmentation

of expence. Another object was, that penſioners during pleaſure, or for a term of years, were not to be eligible to ſerve in parliament in future.

By Sir John Parnell's intended arrangement, it appeared, that the amount of the civil liſt to be granted his majeſty, including the 80,000l. for penſions, would amount to 207,000l. annually. His majeſty had conſented, that the houſe, when providing a civil eſtabliſhment, for the ſupport of his crown and dignity, ſhould make ſuch uſe of the hereditary revenue, as might be thought neceſſary.

The Iriſh parliament acceded to a confirmation of the charter of the Eaſt India company, in which they were warranted fully by the conceſſion of an unreſtrained Weſt India trade. The Britiſh parliament had recently paſſed an act to permit goods of Aſia, Africa, or America, legally imported into Ireland, to be imported from thence into Great Britain. So far a friendly diſpoſition appeared in the parliaments of both kingdoms,

kingdoms, to ſtrengthen their connection by mutual acts of conceſſion.

And although a reſponſibility bill and the abolition of the police inſtitution had miſcarried, yet a penſion and place bill had been carried; which certainly were acquiſitions of conſiderable importance to the welfare and happineſs of the kingdom.

Having given government due credit for the wiſe meaſures attended to, we wiſh we could beſtow ſimilar praiſe on the inſtitution of the new treaſury board. Seven thouſand pounds per annum, were granted to two vice treaſurers reſident in England, by way of compenſation for bringing home thoſe offices. This added to ſeven or eight thouſand pounds annual ſtipend to be given to the commiſſioners of the new treaſury, would make the inſtitution ſtand the public in fifteen thouſand pounds a year.

Beside this; the places that had been created by the marquis of Buckingham, in lieu of treaſury offices, amounting to three thouſand pounds per annum, might fairly be

added to the eſtimate. Thus the whole coſt of the new board, would ſtand the nation in not leſs than eighteen thouſand pounds a year.

If ever there was a time, when reduction of expence, and a ſtrong government were neceſſary, this was the time, and that ſtrength in government, could not be obtained but by a ſtrong treaſury, and a ſtrong treaſury can only be procured by means of œconomy; but never ſuch œconomy as this.

This board had not been perfectly aſſimilated to that of Great Britain. It appeared to be an inefficient board, preſiding only, over the iſſues of the public money from the treaſury, without a ſhadow of reſponſibility, or controul, to enforce the payment of balances in the hands of collectors. The treaſury board might indeed examine the vouchers of the public accounts, but into the juſtneſs of the various expences, they never enquired.

In the Engliſh bill, the treaſury board was veſted with a power, to enforce the due collection of the revenue, and to take care, that the collectors paid in regularly what they collected.

ed. The benefit of this regulation in England, had been found ineſtimable. Though this revenue was more than 3,700,000l, yet in twenty five years, there was loſt by the failure of collectors, not more than three thouſand pounds; whereas in Ireland, though our revenue was not one third of that of England, there was loſt in the ſame period, a ſum of 107,000l.

It perhaps may be ſaid, that the circumſtances of the two countries were different, and prevented ſimilar modes from being adopted in both. However, the year 1787 produced an example of the practicability of enforcing the payment of collector's balances; for in that year, the balances were reduced from 107,000l. to 26,000l. in conſequence of the wiſe regulations of the lords juſtices.

But however neceſſary and ſalutary thoſe œconomic meaſures were at the preſent criſis, yet they were rejected, wherefore, our treaſury board had two much the appearance of a job, and the whole of the buſineſs ſeemed to be a mere colluſion.

An act paſſed this ſeſſion to prevent the election or appointment of delegated meetings or

other unlawful aſſemblies, under pretence of preparing or preſenting public petitions or other addreſſes to his majeſty or the parliament. Mr. Grattan ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the paſſing of the convention bill. He ſaid the object of it was not, the peace of the kingdom, but reflection on the volunteers and other great bodies and the gratification of ſpleen at the expence of the conſtitution, by voting falſe doctrine into law, and the brighter paſſages of our hiſtory into unlawful aſſemblies. He oppoſed it, becauſe he conceived it to be levelled againſt all popular delegation in time to come, and he conſidered it an attack on the principles of liberty. He ſaid, it ſeemed to be compounded of a diſlike to the people in general, and the Catholics in particular; a concern of paſt acquiſition, and a preſent apprehenſion of a parliamentary reform. It availed itſelf of the preſent panic to trench on popular rights, and it found ſupport in ſanguine but weak minds, who knew there was a diſeaſe, but had not ſenſe ſufficient to diſcover the remedy; and thought, that in time of local diſturbance, the remedy was a bill, not againſt the particular diſturbance, but againſt liberty and the people. He ſaid it was a ſacrifice made to

peace

peace when liberty became the victim. That the bill was nothing leſs than a direct attack on the vital principles of the conſtitution; as it ſtruck at the root of the liberty of the ſubject, and at the means by which the people at any time might aſſert their liberty. If the bill only tended to prevent repreſentative bodies from aſſuming functions peculiar to parliament, it would have been unobjectionable.

A WISE and ſalutary law paſſed this ſeſſion, for effectually preventing, during the preſent war between Great Britain and France, all traiterous correſpondence with his majeſty's enemies, or giving them any aid or aſſiſtance; alſo an act, to remove ſome doubts, reſpecting perſons in office, taking the ſacramental teſt, intended for the relief of the proteſtant diſſent-of the kingdom.

THE Militia Bill, was another wiſe and conſtitutional meaſure. It had long been adopted in England as the ſafeſt and moſt conſtitutional mode of defence, and it had long been the wiſh of the beſt and moſt popular characters in this kingdom, that it ſhould be carried into effect; while the exigencies of the times required ſuch a defence.

THE

THE meaſures which the lord lieutenant took in ſupport of public credit, had the beſt effects, and prevented the embarraſſments which for a time hung over commercial tranſactions; and his excellency received the approbation of parliament for the meaſure he had adopted on the occaſion; while they indemnified the bank of Ireland, for the ſums they had advanced to the commiſſioners appointed by his excellency, for the diſtribution of two hundred thouſand pounds, for ſupporting the mercantile credit of the kingdom. Although the aforeſaid ſum might be ſufficient for the preſent criſis; yet as credit depends as much on opinion as fact, a bill was introduced and paſſed, to enable government at any future period, when it might be neceſſary, to iſſue whatever ſum ſhould, at the time, be requiſite to have diſpoſed, in a manner ſimilar to the preſent.

A D. 1793. UPON the whole, the nation obtained many and important advantages during this ſeſſion of parliament, and ſome that the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of the people could have ſcarcely hoped for.

THE

THE repreſentatives of the people, on the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, reſembled more the character of an ariſtocratic corporation, than the peerage at preſent. Here is a moſt ſalutary reform effected by the ſilent ſucceſſion of events and circumſtances, which thoſe who labour in the cauſe of democracy have never conſidered worthy of their attention. Many abuſes in legiſlation and manners have been reformed by the gentle hand of time, and the gradual but certain effects of events, in contraſt to the havoc of haſty and violent revolution.

THE act to prevent conventions has been conſidered by a writer of much celebrity, as an outrageous expedient of an unaccommodating government, to cruſh the expreſſion of well founded murmurs. Whether originally, the conventions were juſtifiable, or not, every candid man will allow, that abuſes had crept into theſe aſſemblies; wherefore it became the duty of government to ſuppreſs them, leſt the peace and happineſs of the kingdom ſhould have been diſturbed or endangered by them.

By the convention bill, the ſubjects right of petitioning is regulated and re-enacted. It is ſtrictly forbidden for that purpoſe to convene as delegates, inaſmuch as the parliament is conceived to poſſeſs that character, and alſo, becauſe that mode of collecting the public opinion, has no advantage to compenſate for the miſchief of inflaming the people and diverting their attention from their neceſſary occupations. Wherefore impartial men think, that by the Convention Bill, and the timely interference of the executive government, a number of evils were prevented, which otherwiſe might eventually have embroiled the kingdom, and overturned our happy conſtitution in church and ſtate.

With a view to aſcertain the population of Ireland, with as much preciſion as the importance of the ſubject demands; we have endeavoured to make out an exact account of the number of houſes in the kingdom. Theſe we find to amount to 794,000. At a moderate calculation ſeven perſons, may be allowed for each family, and this makes the population of Ireland at this day conſiſt of 5,558,000 ſouls. Of this number a million and a half are ſo

poor

poor, that they cannot contribute a ſhilling a year each to the exigencies of the ſtate, without oppreſſion, if we are to credit the returns before parliament, and reaſon from the reduction recommended to his majeſty by his officers relative to the hearth money; on the principle that there were as many ſubjects in the kingdom, on whom it would be a grievance to continue any tax.

We truſt that in the courſe of a few years, the genius of commerce and manufacture will remove the poverty of ſo great a number of our countrymen by affording them uſeful and beneficial employments, where their labour and induſtry may be both profitable to themſelves, and advantageous to government. To effectuate this much wiſhed for conſummation, it is requiſite that providence ſhould extend its tutelary care, to prolong the life and reign of a prince, inexpreſſibly dear and neceſſary to his people, whoſe experience matured by years, and chaſtened by adverſity, can alone heal the wounds, and give energy to the depreſſed ſtate of this country.

In the adminiſtration of public affairs, we may hope reaſonably under the auſpices of ſuch

ſuch a prince, for incorruptible integrity and unblemiſhed manners, ſevere œconomy, and ſtrict vigilance in every thing that regards the welfare or proſperity of the nation. By this we do not wiſh to throw blame on any ſet of men.

We are ſenſible how delicate it is, to hold even truths to the eye of prejudice or of party, and how reluctantly we allow the veil to be withdrawn from before the political ſanctuary, when we are intereſted in its concealment or its defence.

We feel how invidious is the taſk of appreciating the motions and actions of our contemporaries, our friends, and fellow citizens. And above all, we are perfectly ſenſible of our incapacity, to treat of matters yet recent, and obſcured by the paſſion and intereſts of the great actors themſelves. But great as theſe impediments are, they cannot induce us to relinquiſh our deſign. What narrative can be ſo inſtructive, or ſo intereſting to the preſent age, as a delineation of the period undertaken.

To

To thoſe who open the hiſtoric page, with a view to improve the underſtanding, who are competent to carry their reſearches beyond the external appearance of events, and to ſpeculate on the concealed cauſes which produce the elevation, or accelerate the decline of empires; there is not perhaps in the annals of time, a period more pregnant with political matter than the one which has intervened between the year 1688 and the preſent day.

We can trace few marks of national conſideration or honor, in the bigoted and tranſitory reign, of the unfortunate ſucceſſor of the profligate and diſſolute Charles II. and we do not diſcover much greater ſubject for pride and exultation, even under the temperate and elective government of William III.

Whatever obligations we may owe to the Prince of Orange, as our deliverer from civil and ſpiritual tyranny, his arms were conſtantly reſtrained by the generals, as his meaſures were uniformly defeated by the policy and power of Lewis XIV. After a perpetual and unequal ſtruggle, in which our commerce was almoſt annihilated, and in which the ſolitary

litary laurels of the Boyne and of La Hogue, were contrasted with the annual defeats on the continent, and the channel. Though the peace of Ryswick produced a short and delusive calm; yet the crown of Spain, in violation of the most solemn renunciations, was quietly transferred, in the year 1700, on the extinction of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, to a prince of France: while the best hours of William were engaged in ineffectual efforts, to prevent the fatal consequences of an act, incontestibly injurious to the security, interests and grandeur of the British empire.

The female reign which succeeded, so long as it was conducted by the counsels of Godolphin, and the genius of Marlborough, presents a striking picture of military glory, and successive triumphs. The court of Versailles, accustomed to confer, condescended to solicit for peace; and Torcy, at Gertruydenberg in 1709, exhibited the humiliating sight of a minister of Lewis, XIV. prostrate before Britain and Holland.

But the imprudence or presumption of an administration, intoxicated with prosperity,

and unmindful of the viciſſitudes of human affairs, ſuffered the moment to elapſe in which the ſafety and intereſts of the empire, might have been for ever ſecured, on the moſt durable foundations. The horizon ſoon became darkened and the bright proſpect obſcured by clouds.

VILLARS reſcued France from her ſtate of danger and diſtreſs, while Oxford, and Bolingbroke, diſgraced the empire, and accelerated the death of their feeble ſovereign, by meaſures of puſillanimity and breaches of national faith.

THE trophies of Blenheim and Malplaquet were nearly obliterated by the defeat of Denain, and the peace of Utrecht. The houſe of Auſtria was betrayed, in that inglorious and diſhonourable treaty; and the evening of a reign ſo diſtinguiſhed and ſo ſplendid, terminated in weakneſs, and is only recollected with regret.

IF the annals of the laſt princeſs of the Stuart race, afford ſo little matter for hiſtoric praiſe, it is not in the labyrinth of continental politics and

and alliances, which characterized and compoſed thoſe of George I. that we can look for topics of eulogium, or ſubjects for admiration.

The naval victory, obtained by Byng in 1718, over the Spaniſh fleet, in the Faro of Meſſina, however brilliant and deciſive; ſo far from being productive of any advantage to the nation, counteracted every principle of wiſe and judicious policy. It ſtands contraſted with the fatal bankruptcy of the South Sea year; with the melancholy ſacrifice of Hoſier's devoted ſquadron, under the walls of Porto Bello; with a dereliction of the intereſts and honour of the empire which were rendered ſubſervient to injurious predilections and foreign acquiſitions.

The commencement of George II's. reign conducted as the greater part of that of his father had been, by the counſels of Walpole, diſcloſes ſcarcely a more exhilerating proſpect. It was indeed pacific; but this peace was the ignominious and ſupine inſecurity of a James; not the dignified and martial tranquillity of Elizabeth.

We

We are at a loſs to find, in this century any portion of time leſs diſtinguiſhed by wiſdom and vigour, or during which the empire had fallen into more complete inſignificance, than in that period which elapſed from the death of George I. in 1727, to the cloſe of Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration in 1742.

Though the ſubſervient fleet of the Britiſh empire eſcorted the younger ſon of Philip V. from Barcelona into Italy, and though we facilitated and advanced the grandeur of the houſe of Bourbon; though we tamely ſubmitted to the acts of violence exerciſed by Spain againſt our commerce in all the American ſeas; and abandoned the emperor Charles VI. to the united forces of France, Spain, and Sardinia, who in ſo unequal a conteſt diſmembered Naples and Sicily from the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, and though, to complete the meaſure of incapacity and miſconduct, we even permitted Lewis XV. by incorporating the Dutchy of Lorrain with his hereditary poſſeſſions, to perfect and cement the French greatneſs; yet theſe migh-

ty and numerous conceſſions did not conciliate eſteem nor procure reſpect.

WALPOLE verſed in the art of parliamentary addreſs, and the ſcience of political venality; but conſcious of his incapacity to conduct the veſſel through the ſtorm which impended; after he had exhauſted every endeavour to detain his ſovereign and his country in diſgraceful neutrality, reluctantly reſigned the reins of power, which he had held too long, for the honour, glory and advantage of the Britiſh empire.

PELHAM the ſucceeding miniſter; though neither fortunate nor ſucceſsful in war, nor ſecure and undiſturbed in peace, yet was rendered reſpectable, by the luſtre of his private and perſonal virtues. The inglorious campaign of Fontenoy, the defeats of the allied army in Flanders, followed by the capture of Bergen-op-zoom, and the ſiege of Mæſtricht; the peace of Aix la Chapelle, humiliating and injurious to the empire; the ravages and hoſtilities continued to be exerciſed by France againſt the American colonies, and the Eaſt Indies, even ſubſequent

to

to that treaty: theſe ſubjects of general complaint and diſſatisfaction, which clouded the miniſtry of Pelham, conſoled the nation for his loſs when removed by death in the year 1754.

The ſhort remaining period of the reign of George II. was equally calamitous and diſgraceful, till that memorable and brilliant, but tranſitory æra preceding its final termination, when the genius of Pitt renewed the glories and the ſucceſſes ſo long forgotten.

The loſs of Minorca, and the ignominious convention of Cloſter Seven, were eraſed by the ſucceſſive conqueſts of Martinico, Canada, Plaſſey, Belliſle and the Havannah.

But the demiſe of the ſovereign in 1760, and the transfer of miniſterial authority, which ſucceeded; prevented the beneficial conſequences, which naturally might have been expected from this chain of victories.

A Peace which never can be ſufficiently reprobated, and in which the ignorance of the intereſt of the nation was only exceeded by

the dereliction of the honour of the crown; reſtored to the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon, thoſe provinces and poſſeſſions, of which they had been deprived by Lord Chatham.

We will not enumerate the fleeting phantoms of adminiſtration; which annually appeared and vaniſhed; nor attempt to deſcribe that period which elapſed, from the reſignation of Lord Bute to the year 1770, when the reins of power were delegated to Lord North.

There are certainly few events contained within that portion of time, which can induce us to lament that it was not of longer duration. With ſtill greater reaſon, we wiſh to draw a veil over the ſeries of errors, incapacity, and miſconduct which preceded and produced that fatal war, terminated by the independence of America, and the diſmemberment of the empire.

In the ſhort period of ten years, we have ſeen the Britiſh empire, which had embraced both hemiſpheres, and to which India and America

America were only provinces; which had ſucceſsfully oppoſed, under the auſpices of Lord Chatham, the combined force of the Houſe of Bourbon, and after giving laws to Europe, had diſpenſed peace to mankind; we have ſeen this empire ſhaken to its baſis, convulſed at home, and aſſailed on every ſide, vainly invoking the aid of the perfidious Catherine, whoſe fleets we had conducted into ſeas unknown to her barbarous ſubjects, and whoſe victorious banner we had taught to fly on the ſhores of Greece and Aſia Minor.

We have in the tranſitory period of ten years beheld the Britiſh empire bending beneath the complicated calamities of domeſtic diviſion, and foreign war, and ſinking under the preſſure of adverſe fortune, or feeble and puſillanimous councils; we have ſeen this expiring and diminiſhed empire, within the ſpace alluded to, riſe from the loweſt ſtate of humiliation and depreſſion, re-adjuſt her ſcattered inſignia, reſume her ancient luſtre, and wing a more ſublime flight than ſhe had ever held acroſs the political expanſe.

It is in vain that the moſt laborious reſearch would endeavour to parallel this extraordinary revolution in the hiſtory of modern Europe. It is only in the Athenian or Roman annals; it it only at the fatal periods of Marathon, and Cannæ that we ſee any example of a republic, ſuddenly and rapidly emerging from the loweſt point of ruin and calamity, into greater power and grandeur than ſhe had previouſly enjoyed.

A MILD and happy calm had ſmoothed the troubled waves, which the calamities of Lord North's adminiſtration and the anarchy which ſucceeded that unfortunate period had produced. The ſovereign was deſervedly dear to every rank and order of his ſubjects, who united in regarding him as their father and benefactor.

THE government beloved at home, was reſpected abroad; and the people, happy beyond the example of former times, looked up with equal affection and veneration towards the ſource of theſe multiplied benefits.

BUT

But in the midſt of this flattering aſpect of affairs, an unexpected and diſaſtrous change, was preparing to manifeſt itſelf, which no human prudence could have foreſeen, nor precaution delayed.

We were deſtined to experience in its fulleſt extent, the mutability of fortune, and the fragility of greatneſs; to exhibit a leſſon to our own, and to future times, that the ſplendor and felicity of man, however ſolid the foundations on which they may ſeem to repoſe, are in the hands of a ſuperior being, who confers or withdraws them in an inſtant.

We are arrived at that awful and affecting period when the feelings of all thoſe who ſhall peruſe theſe ſheets will be deeply intereſted. It is however neither in our plan nor in our intention, to relate the private hiſtory of that extraordinary period; or to drag into open day facts and anecdotes, which curious as they muſt appear to poſterity, are in every ſenſe unfit for the peruſal of the preſent age.

FRANCE, ſtimulated by the writings of genius and philoſophy, which in defiance of arbitrary power have dignified and enlightened the preſent age, aſpired to freedom.

THE weakneſs of the ſovereign; the incapacity and timidity of his miniſters; the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury and finances, the pertinacious oppoſition of the parliament of Paris to regiſter or ſanction the royal edicts for the impoſition of new taxes; the failure of harveſts, and conſequent augmentation in the price of bread, all theſe concurring circumſtances contributed to produce and accelerate a revolution.

To the admiration and aſtoniſhment of Europe, an enthuſiaſtic paſſion for liberty pervaded all France, and the revolution, which commenced on the banks of the Seine, ſpread with equal rapidity and unanimity to the Alps and Pyrenees, to the Rhine and the Mediterranean.

To the limited and erring eye of man, incapable of pervading futurity, and of removing the darkneſs that ſurrounds it, this

was

was an event no leſs ſingular than extraordinary; particularly in an abſolute monarchy, ſo ſtrongly cemented as that of France ſeemed to have been, and in which loyalty was eſteemed to be the characteriſtic of every deſcription of citizens.

At this period, France exhibited a picture truly dreadful; from the month of October, 1789, that unhappy country has been a ſcene of anarchy, diſtraction and calamity, diſtinguiſhed by acts of feſtivity, barbarity and ſlaughter.

The depreſſion and humiliation of the clergy, the ſale of eccleſiaſtical property; the annihilation of the orders of the nobility, which were nearly coeval with the reign of Clovis; the abolition of the peerage, and the dangerous renewal of a paper currency totally deſtitute of any ſolid ſupport, were meaſures in a great degree without any precedent, in the hiſtory of other modern European nations.

It has not even hitherto been aſcertained or exemplified, ſince the extinction of the Roman freedom by Marius and Sylla, that a people whoſe

mon

whoſe numbers exceed twenty millions, are capable of being permanently governed under a free conſtitution. Nor has mankind yet ſeen any inſtance of a capital, and a country habituated for ages to deſpotiſm, ſunk in pleaſures, loſt to public principle, deſtitute even of the forms of external reſpect for the national religion, and only intoxicated with the ſpeculations of a diſtempered and viſionary philoſophy which ever aſpired, or attained to a well regulated and wiſely cemented liberty.

It was not in ſuch a ſtate of morals, or of ſociety, that the Athenians broke the fetters of arbitrary power, when rouſed by Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. The elder Brutus bore no ſimilarity to Mirabeau, or to La Fayette.

Rome vainly aſſaſſinated her dictator, when public virtue was no longer to be found in the ſenate, nor among the people. The mountaineers of Switzerland, who threw of the yoke of the houſe of Auſtria; and the oppreſſed peaſants of the low countries, who revolted from the tyranny of Philip, II. were poor, hardy and martial.

The

THE Engliſh parliament, which oppoſed, and ultimately vanquiſhed Charles I. called upon a nation, which however inflamed by fanaticiſm, was unſubdued by luxury, and uncorrupted by venality.

TIMES of effeminacy and refinement have not hitherto been found to produce a plant, of ſo hardy and vigorous a nature, as freedom; and if we are deſtined to ſee in the hiſtory of France, an example of this extraordinary contradiction to the reſult of all experience, it will be a ſtriking inſtance of the inſufficiency and fallibility, of human wiſdom or obſervation.

THE natural levity, and characteriſtic inconſtancy of the French, may conduce to render them weary of a poſſeſſion, which, however inеſtimable in its nature, is neither to be attained, nor preſerved, without unremitting vigilance and exertion.

THE ceſſation or ruin of many branches of trade, neceſſarily reſulting from the late convulſions; the ſeverity of the taxes, which a free government is compelled to exact, in common

common with the moſt deſpotic: the long habits of unconditional ſubmiſſion, ſo forcible in their operation on the mind and character: all theſe principles may ferment, and ultimately burſt into action.

THESE reflections and conſiderations may inſpire ſome reaſonable doubt reſpecting the total ſubverſion of the regal power and the permanancy of a free conſtitution in France.

THAT powerful monarchy which for a century and a half, had inſpired terror, and whoſe reſtleſs ambition had been ſo dangerous to every ſurrounding country; which had twice in that period, nearly ſubjected Holland, to its yoke; which placed Philip V. on the Spaniſh throne in 1700, and raiſed an Elector of Bavaria to the imperial dignity at a ſtill more recent period; that power occupied in endleſs metaphyſical diſquiſitions upon the rights of men, or employed in deſperate projects of revenue and finance; appears now to be much more dangerous to the ſafety and tranquillity of Europe by her principles and doctrines, than hitherto ſhe had been by the force and power of her arms.

THE

THE actual ſituation of the Britiſh Empire at the concluſion of the year 1790 realized the warmeſt wiſh of the miniſter and the ſovereign. The object which William vainly ſought to attain, which Godolphin and Marlborough allowed to eſcape; and which Chatham was not permitted to accompliſh; was reſerved for the preſent age to behold.

THE monarchies of France and Spain have been ſucceſſively humbled and reſtrained without the neceſſity of having recourſe to the ſword. The contraſt between Great Britain and France at the cloſe of the year 1790 was truly ſtriking.

THE one enjoying, all the advantages of eſtabliſhed order; conducted by a government equally vigorous and popular; meeting every pecuniary embarraſſment or impoſition with new and unexampled reſources; ſtrengthening her credit, and extending her commerce while ſhe covered the ocean with her navy, and ſpread the glory of her name over every quarter of the globe; became by general conſent the acknowledged arbitreſs of Europe;

and

and to her poſſeſſion of external conſideration and reſpect, uniting every internal ſource of wealth and felicity.

The other ſtruggling through difficulties, to complete a ſyſtem of liberty; and attempting to renovate her diſordered finances plunged into almoſt irremediable anarchy and confuſion; the energy and activity of the crown withdrawn, and a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, the moſt fatal to every national and public effort, pervading all the naval and military departments.

It is not our intention to delineate the melancholy reverſe that has taken place in the affairs of Europe, and particularly in the Britiſh empire, ſince the year 1790 to the preſent period; we neither will condemn nor praiſe the origin or continuation of the preſent diſaſtrous war. The nature of the ſubject is rather embarraſſing to the man who ventures to relate the tranſactions of the time in which he lives, and of which he forms himſelf, though an imperceptible yet a real and efficient part, it is not a ſufficient juſtification to undertake ſuch a taſk, that the mild genius of the

the century in which we write or the freedom which enables us to dictate without apprehenſion, appear to liberate us from every reſtraint.

THERE are feelings in a generous mind which ſuperſede the cold principle of mere acquieſcence with the law, and conſequently far ſuperior in their operation to theſe regulations impoſed by courts of juſtice or legiſlative ſtatutes.

IT is to theſe reſtrictions that we ſhall ſubject the pen. For it is only for thoſe, who can elevate their minds above the little partialities and prejudices of the day, to affix the ſentiment of approbation or cenſure on the preſent war.

IN the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of European politics, it is not in the power of the philoſpher or hiſtorian to confer on them his cenſure, or his admiration. We muſt wait with the ſolicitude of good citizens, until the preſent ferment ſubſides, and peace be once more reſtored to the European world, before we hazard any opinion on the war, which now blazes through every corner of Europe.

It will be more judicious to turn our eyes from the melancholy picture exhibited by the preſent convulſions of Europe; to the more animating and exhilarating ſcene preſented by Ireland. A kingdom which in the courſe of a few years, has emerged from the loweſt ſtate of thraldom and dependence to that of freedom and emancipation; a country accompanied with every circumſtance of internal repoſe, an external proſperity; with encreaſing ſymptoms of national conſideration and importance. Such are the bleſſed effects of the happy government we live under, and which cannot fail to endear us ſtill more to it, from a compariſon with that ſtate which is falſely called a government of liberty, and equality, but more juſtly that of anarchy, rapine, and murder.

The meretricious beauties of viſionary republics may dazzle the unthinking multitude by their falſe ſplendour, but never did, nor is it poſſible they can beſtow the permanent benefits of proſperity and happineſs equal to thoſe enjoyed under ſuch a monarchy as ours.

The

THE period which elapſed from the commencement to the cloſe of the ſeſſion of the year 1794, affords few materials for hiſtory, drawn from the interior events of the time.

A. D. 1794. THE parliament met with the ſingular phenomenon, of no amendment being propoſed to the addreſs in either houſe. The old ſteady opponents of the preſent miniſtry ſquared their conſciences and conduct upon this occaſion, to the ſuperſeding neceſſity of ſupporting the meaſures that were adopted by Great Britain. Upon this principle did Mr. Grattan and many other patriotic members, tender their ſervices to miniſtry which for ten years they had uniformly oppoſed. But it is to be preſumed that the ſingle queſtion of war was either the pretext, or the ground for this coaliſion.

THE prorogation of the parliament almoſt without a debate, beſpoke the moſt unreſerved and unconditional adoption of the preſent ſyſtem of meaſures; and nothing ſurely could

could more emphatically anſwer the views of the miniſter than this paſſive ſubmiſſion to all his commands.

IRELAND now in the boſom of repoſe, ſaw her commerce and manufactures expanding, her credit augmented, and her name and character taking their place in the ſcale of nations. We paſs over in ſilence the little broils and diſturbances excited in ſome parts of the kingdom by perturbed ſpirits, for the vile purpoſe of ſtigmatizing a brave and loyal people.

THE parliament which was to have met on the 4th of December, was prorogued to the 22d of January, in order to give time for the previous arrangements in the miniſterial departments. A preliminary ſtipulation with the miniſter previous to the ſeceſſion of the Portland party from their old friends, was underſtood to be an unconditional diſpoſal of the whole patronage of this kingdom, and full liberty to introduce ſuch ſyſtems of reform, as ſhould be deemed neceſſary and expedient for the welfare and happineſs of the nation.

BUT

But the miniſter had either been crafty, ambiguous, or haſty in negociating. He now poſitively objected againſt the removal of any of his old faithful and zealous friends. They might only command the future patronage as it ſhould drop in. The conteſt became ſerious, but at length it was compromiſed; and it was generally underſtood, that a certain party was to have been given up, on condition that the lord chancellor ſhould retain the ſeals.

CHAP. XIV.

Earl Fitzwilliam appointed to the Government of of Ireland, in the room of Lord Westmoreland—a Sketch of his short Administration—The State of the Country, and the national Debt—Arrival of Earl Camden—A disorderly Mob attack the Lord Chancellor, immediately suppressed—Observations on such tendencies in the populace—The original frame of Government in Ireland—The Cause of its tardy Progress in Civilization, and in its Proficiency in the Arts of Refinement and in the fine Arts—A Plan for the extension and improvement of the fine Arts—Establishment of the Royal Irish Academy—Its utility—Delegates from the Catholics of Dublin sent to petition his Majesty for a total Emancipation—Returned with what was deemed an unsatisfactory Answer—Make their report to a Meeting convened at Francis Street, Chapel—Their Resolutions—A Number of Students of the University attend the Meeting—The dawn of an Union among the People—Reasons assigned why a Consummation so much to be wished for cannot reasonably be expected

to

to take place—The augmentation of the Militia productive of Affrays and Riots—The due explanation of the Syſtem would have prevented them—The inattention of the Civil Power to their Duty—The proper Means of preventing Outrage—The preſent awful State of Europe—In the Houſe of Lords the Bill for the relief of the Brewery poſtponed for its inconſiſtency and abſurdity—Obſervations on the Revenue Syſtem.

A. D. 1795. ON the 4th of January, of this year, Earl Wentworth Fitzwilliam entered on the government of this kingdom, in the room of Lord Weſtmoreland; it is not our intention to delineate minutely the meaſures of this tranſitory adminiſtration, juſt exhibited to Iriſhmen, as Marcellus was to the Romans, and ſnatched away by an extinction as haſty, and as much lamented.

THE genius of Ireland, long fettered and obſcured, began now to aſſert its ancient energy, and liberated from the oppreſſion of a foreign yoke, was preparing to re-appear on the theatre of nations, from whence ſhe had been baniſhed, by internal calamities and external bondage.

ANI-

ANIMATED addreſſes replete with attachment and loyalty, were preſented to lord Fitzwilliam from all quarters of the kingdom, and from every claſs and deſcription of people; and his excellency was extremely ſenſible of theſe genuine marks of affection. The native elevation of his mind, and the magnanimity which has ever marked his character rendered him incapable of deſcending to the little artifices of mean and crooked politics.

DURING his excellency's continuance in this kingdom, the probity of his private life pervaded and marked his public line of conduct; and his ſhort adminiſtration united under his banners, the virtue, energy and patriotiſm of the nation; accompanied with national confidence, and every principle of ſound and generous policy: and no viceroy ever departed the kingdom ſo ſincerely and univerſally regretted.

PREVIOUS to this melancholy event, Earl Fitzwilliam received the thanks of both houſes of parliament, for his conduct, which they declared, had not only gained their, but the confidence of the people. We are not as yet fully

fully competent to unravel the real nature of the miſunderſtanding between Earl Fitzwilliam and the Britiſh cabinet, which occaſioned his ſudden departure from the kingdom; and to deal in fanciful conjecture on a ſubject of ſuch importance, would be as highly diſreſpectful to Earl Fitzwilliam, as it would be to the reſpectable characters, who compoſe the Britiſh adminiſtration

The liberality of parliament kept pace with the exigencies of the empire; the enormous ſupply of 1,700,000l. was granted to his majeſty, in order to enable him to proſecute with efficacy and vigour, the preſent war. The hearth money was taken off the poor, and thrown on the rich, as all houſes having but one hearth were exempted from the tax, and the encouragement ſo long wanted was at length given to the brewery.

Last year the commerce and revenue of the country had conſiderably decreaſed, but the ſtatement of the chancellor of the exchequer ſhews, that in the courſe of a few months

months the nation was in credit, by no leſs a ſum than 279,433l. Laſt year alſo our eſtabliſhments were two years in arrear, but the treaſury was now in ſuch a ſtate, as not only to be able to anſwer whatever demands could be made on it, but had a very conſiderable reſerve.

Let us now advert to the debt of the nation. In the year 1791 it was 2,231,000l. In 1793, amounted to 2,344,000l. and at preſent it is no leſs than 3,082,000l. but by the great meaſures recently obtained from the preceding adminiſtration, conſiderable retrenchments had taken, and are ſtill likely to take place.

By the penſion bill, there would be an annual ſaving of 44,000l. and by the limitation of the civil liſt there would be an annual ſaving of 22,000l. on the uſual exceedings of concordatum, amounting in all to the ſum of 66,000l. a year.

In juſtice to the ſupporters of the Fitzwilliam adminiſtration, it muſt be admitted, that their perſeverance obtained from the laſt

laſt adminiſtration the three important meaſures above-mentioned, and it ſeemed to be their determination to make every poſſible retrenchment, as far as the circumſtances of the times and the ſituation of the country would permit.

On the 25th of March Earl Fitzwilliam departed the kingdom, as univerſally regretted, as beloved; a nobleman whoſe private and public character, will in this country continue to diſtant ages, a theme for panegyric and admiration, diſtinguiſhed for candour, friendſhip, liberality, and genuine charity, diveſted of oſtentation.

On his departure, his grace the lord primate and the lord chancellor were ſworn lords juſtices of Ireland; the ſpeaker could not be appointed without vacating his ſeat by a clauſe in a late act of parliament which has been ſince done away. They held the reins of government until the 31ſt of March, the day on which Earl Camden arrived and took upon him the government of the country.

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AFTER his lordſhip was ſworn into office, the lord chancellor on his return from the caſtle to his houſe in Ely Place, was inſulted in ſo groſs a manner, by a diſorderly mob, that it became neceſſary to order out the guards from the caſtle, both horſe and foot; who accompanied the chancellor to his houſe, and in a ſhort time ſtruck ſuch terror into the multitude, that the manifeſt tendency to riot and turbulence, was happily ſuppreſſed without much violence or blood-ſhed.

SUCH mobs reflect diſgrace on the police of the metropolis, and ſerve to tarniſh the reputation of the kingdom in foreign countries. The facility with which this mob was ſuppreſſed, proves fully that it was not the effect of premeditated deſign.

A NUMBER of unemployed tradeſmen, have frequently teſtified a ſpirit of combination on many occaſions which had been productive of looſe habits, and diſorderly and riotous diſpoſitions.

DURING

DURING the ſpace of a few years, commotions in Ireland, have aſſumed a menacing aſpect. Indeed the more recent diſturbances particularly in 1792, were not only exaggerated but encouraged in the different counties in the kingdom by certain individuals, who choſe this mode of rendering themſelves of conſequence, by repreſenting to government in pompous diſplay, their great exertions for the preſervation of the peace in their reſpective counties.

THEY firſt diſperſed rumours among the people of great and oppreſſive taxes, that were to be impoſed upon them, and then purpoſely avoided explaining the nature of the militia inſtitution, which the ignorance of the people converted into an alarming and dangerous innovation. Theſe concurring circumſtances were productive of ſome miſchief, which would have been entirely prevented by a proper explanation of the militia act, and other lenient and prudent meaſures.

BUT the misfortune of this kingdom has been, that in the elevated ſtations of adminiſ-

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tration have been more remarkable for their regard to private emolument, than public conſiſtency; conſequently government has few adherents beyond the pale of their own patronage.

For although commotions are by no means palatable to the intelligent part of the community, however few conſider themſelves bound to ſtep forward to their immediate ſuppreſſion, becauſe they look on the government as hoſtile to their views and intereſt, and behold with ſilent approbation every new embarraſſment and annoyance they meet with.

But the incentives to turbulence having been almoſt completely removed by the communication of political privileges and power to the great body of the people, a repetition of ſuch cannot reaſonably be apprehended.

By the enſuing election there will be no leſs an addition to the conſtituent body, than fifty thouſand electors, and we may with certainty conclude that upon the whole ſubſequent general

general election, the addition will not be leſs than one hundred thouſand electors. This certainly will in proceſs of time render bribery and corruption at elections, almoſt if not totally impracticable.

As all reaſonable grounds of diſſatisfaction are therefore removed from our catholic brethren, it will not be conſidered as ſpeculative conjecture, to ſuppoſe that induſtry and contentment will take place of that indolence and diſquiet which have for many years pervaded the land.

The preſent period of our hiſtory, unfolds a pleaſing and fair proſpect of harmony and happineſs, which muſt for ever limit and reſtrain the artful deſigns and infamous ſchemes of any future miniſter who might be diſpoſed to carry into execution, meaſures hoſtile to the intereſt, happineſs, and proſperity of the country.

Henceforward there will not be, as formerly, any party the peculiar favourites of the ſtate, as equal confidence and protection

tion have been communicated to all, to the total extirpation of jealouſy diſſatisfaction and prejudice.

SOLID and real privileges have at length ſuperſeded nominal freedom, and an impartial and kind government cannot fail to conciliate the attachment of peaceable and well affected ſubjects.

To an impartial obſerver, the original ſyſtem of government in this country, and not any thing in the diſpoſition or character of the people, has rendered the civilization of Ireland extremely tardy in its progreſs, and while a trace of the barbarous inſtitution remained, it could not be ſuppoſed that our advances in refinement could bear any proportion to that of the ſiſter kingdom.

To the ſame cauſe, may be aſcribed the languid ſtate of literature and the fine arts in this kingdom, for a number of years paſt. The injury that muſt have reſulted to the community from inattention to theſe important objects, is ſelf evident, and requires no kind of comment.

In Great Britain, the encouragement and patronage given to the arts and ſciences, throw a luſtre on the national character, and amply reward the munificence that has raiſed them to ſuch eminence. Want of genius is not attached to our ſoil, nor has it been the cauſe of the evil.

In the courſe of the preſent century, Ireland has produced a number of ingenious artiſts, though deprived of moſt of the advantages that other kingdoms enjoy, and which are abſolutely neceſſary to create artiſts. Thus providence in vain beſtowed genius, when the means of diſplaying it, are denied for want of public patronage.

Every encouragement ought to be afforded to the arts, for by them the national manufactures and the national taſte are refined and improved: wherefore, every means ſhould be uſed, to aid their progreſs and culture, by exciting a ſpirit of emulation among artiſts, while latent genius is called forth by public liberality.

An aſſociation for this laudable purpoſe ought to be eſtabliſhed, as through the medium of a ſociety, artiſts would become known to each other, and not only acquire ſtrength and ſtability by coalition, but information and improvement by aſſociation.

The few attempts that have been made in this kingdom to revive the arts, were either conſtructed on too confined a baſis, or injudiciouſly planned; for they ſunk almoſt as ſoon as formed, and left an unfavourable impreſſion on the minds of many, who were friendly to the cauſe, that, in a peculiar manner, tended to their depreſſion.

In the year 1787, the Dublin artiſts held a meeting, for the purpoſe of deviſing the beſt means for promoting the fine arts. Their deſign was to inſtitute a Muſeum for the reception and diſplay of paintings, drawings, ſculpture and various other performances, in arts, mechanics, and manufactures.

Such an inſtitution was much wanted in the metropolis, and by the ability and zeal of Mr. Thomas Ellis, the idea was matured, planned and digeſted.

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THE Earl of Charlemont, and many other diſtinguiſhed characters, to whom Mr. Ellis ſubmitted his plan for eſtabliſhing a *Muſeum*, on the above principles, favoured it with their ſanguine approbation, and their warmeſt ſupport. With the ſanction and countenance of ſuch exalted characters, the artiſts deſigned to take a houſe, ſuitable to the object of the intended muſeum.

SUCH artiſts as choſe to exhibit their works in this repoſitory of the arts, were to be exempt from all kinds of expence, as well as thoſe, whoſe taſte or curioſity might prompt them to viſit the muſeum.

FROM ſuch an inſtitution many great advantages would naturally reſult. The beſt exhibitions of the fine arts would have been reſtored to the Iriſh profeſſors; for want of which, they have for ſome time been gradually on the decline. Few men of genius in theſe days, remain in the country, for want of proper encouragement, and ſuch as do continue, ſcarce find any for the exertion of their talents.

THE emigration of artiſts, as above mentioned, is not ſolely confined to them, but extends

to almoſt every kind of art and manufacture, to the great injury of the nation and the manifeſt advantage of other kingdoms. A very material advantage would reſult from the permanence of the muſeum, as annual exhibitions could never anſwer the purpoſes which either the artiſts or the public ſeek for; perpetual ones would; as the frequent opportunities of diſplaying their performances, would operate as an inducement to catch the artiſt's fancy on the wing; and however tardy they may be in finiſhing their pieces, they might always exhibit ſuch of their works, as would beſt ſuit their expectations; by ſuch means, a ſpirit for the arts, manufactures and mechanics of the country, would be revived.

A MUSEUM of this kind would attract the notice of mechanical geniuſes of every kind, and the exhibitions themſelves, would receive conſiderable improvement by the criticiſm of viſitors. It is therefore reaſonable to hope that ſuch a place would become an almoſt certain market for men of different mechanical avocations to apply to for ingenious perſons of all deſcriptions.

FOREIGN

FOREIGNERS as well as natives, excelling in their various arts, would be induced by ſuch an inſtitution, to ſend in ſamples of their performances, or attend perſonally with them, as they would have ſuch fair advantages of diſplaying their abilities, without ſpending their time in want and hopeleſs expectation, ariſing from promiſes of recommendation to employment. But by this conſtant exhibition, if an artiſt has merit, let him be rich or poor, native or foreigner, there are his works and there is the man. To men of liberal minds, it is but a melancholy reflection, that many great and bright geniuſes have lived and died unknown, perhaps ſtarved, whilſt in purſuit of ſome uſeful project, or for want of an opportunity of diſcovering their talents have ſunk into the grave, wretched pictures of want and miſery. Perhaps their loſs was an irreparable one to ſociety:—ſuch men may be aptly compared to beauteous flowers growing in a deſert, which bloom for a while, and then, periſh in a gradual decay, viſible only to their creator.

BY ſuch an inſtitution as this, the ſons of art might be called forth; they might be aided in their purſuit, encouraged in their induſtry, and introduced into the world, an honour, ornament, and advantage to their country.

How many do the fertile imaginations of one ingenious artiſt or mechanic give bread to? As the richeſt gems are found in the bowels of the earth, ſo frequently in the miſerable habitations of the poor, the brighteſt talents and the fineſt geniuſes are diſcovered. Providence gives the ſoil, but it is the labour and ingenuity of man, which muſt bring forth the abundant produce.

Mr. Ellis, a worthy and ingenious man, by his own individual exertion has eſtabliſhed a muſeum in Mary Street, which, if general encouragement, or parliamentary aid had countenanced, would ſhortly become an object of public utility. The plan requires conſtant attention, much labour, and conſiderable expence; and muſt, therefore, inevitably fall to ruin, unleſs liberally encouraged and countenanced, by the bounty of parliament, with the generoſity and munificence of the public.

At Mr. Ellis's muſeum, the works of many famous artiſts, are to be ſeen, and among others thoſe of a riſing and very promiſing genius, Mr. William Cuming, a young man of acknowledged merit, whoſe productions recently

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met with a decided and flattering preference from the corporation of the metropolis; when propoſals were held out to Iriſh artiſts, for the beſt portrait of a late truly reſpectable Lord Mayor.

It would be an injuſtice to many diſtinguiſhed characters in the kingdom, to omit mentioning, that they avail themſelves of every opportunity not only to promote, but to encourage, the arts and artiſts of their own country. Lord Shannon, the right honourable the Speaker, Colonel Burton Conyngham, Col. Hayes, of Avondale, and Gen. Cunninghame, ſignalize themſelves on this, as well as on every other occaſion, where the trade, manufactures or agriculture, of the kingdom are concerned.

The civilization and proſperity of the nation have been conſiderably retarded, for want of encouraging the fine arts in this kingdom; and nothing ſhort of parliamentary interference, can ever raiſe them from their languid ſtate, and give them that efficacy and energy ſo neceſſary to render them of public utility.

We ſhall ſay little of the ſtate of ſcience and literature in the kingdom at this day, *jubes renovare dolorem!* where are we to look for another Mæcenas, who animates men of letters, not only by his example, but by his generoſity? Alas! the greater part of men of fortune, whoſe peculiar province it is, to encourage ſcience by a well timed liberality, are ſo ſurrounded by objects of luxury and diſſipation, that they have neither the means nor the time to attend to literary merit. It is a melancholy fact, that men of merit and genius in the literary world, can ſcarce make out a ſubſiſtence by their labours, much leſs procure an eſtabliſhment, which would relieve them from the neceſſity of writing for bread.

At this enlightened day, ſhall we hurt the feelings of a once generous nation, no leſs diſtinguiſhed for taſte than for liberality, by aſſerting that men of real genius not only languiſh in the ſhades of obſcurity, but are literally ſtarving? Where has fled our ancient love of ſcience, and our boaſted ſpirit of generoſity?

SHALL the crafty and perfidious Catherine of Ruſſia not only confer penſions on many learned men, but adopt every means in her power, to encourage native genius in her dominions by the foundation of colleges and academies; with ſuch profuſe liberality in the ſupport of them, as have encouraged men of ſcience, from moſt countries in Europe, to frequent her courts, *fas eſt ab hoſte doceri*; even let the example of ſuch a policy ſhame us into imitation, and let not the annals of a beneficent prince be tarniſhed for want of true generoſity, and due regard to merit and genius.

SOME thirty years ſince, more of the public money had been voted away, by the *ſcrambling committee* of the houſe of commons, for mere jobs, in one ſeſſion of parliament, than would be neceſſary from that period to the preſent, for the adequate encouragement of ſcience and genius. Such a well-timed and judicious bounty would be eſteemed, in the opinion of the ingenious part of mankind, an atonement for many of the diſgraceful errors of the period alluded to.

HOWEVER, amidſt the cloud of diſcouragement which, for ſome time, has hung over the drooping genius of literature in this kingdom; a few men have cultivated their reaſon, and eſtabliſhed conferences for the mutual communication of learned diſcoveries, and for the advancement of ſcience, polite literature and antiquities. Theſe gentlemen, in the year 1786, have procured a patent, and were incorporated under the denomination of the *Royal Iriſh Academy*. They have ſince conſiderably encreaſed their numbers, and have been of much ſervice in the cauſe of ſcience. Their learned preſident animates the ſociety, not only by his example, but by his bounty.

NOTWITHSTANDING the manifeſt diſadvantages and diſcouragements, that literature has laboured under in this kingdom, yet Ireland at the preſent moment, is diſtinguiſhed for ſome men of ſuperior genius, who have drawn on themſelves and their native country the eſteem and attention of ſurrounding nations.

MR. KIRWAN is univerſally allowed to rank among the firſt chemiſts of the age. Drs. O'Halloran, Campbell and Crawford, are conſidered

fidered elegant and elaborate authors. Drs. Drennan, Crumpe, and M'Kenna are writers, juſtly eſteemed for their perſpicuity, preciſion and judgment. Col. Vallancey, Dr. Ledwich, Capt. Ouſley, and Meſſrs. Beaufort, Walker, Hamilton, and O'Flanagan appear foremoſt in the liſt of Iriſh antiquarians. Meſſrs. Griffith, Barber, and Campbell, have evinced no ſmall ſhare of judgment in their productions. Dean Hamilton, Dr. Young, and the two Stacks are celebrated for claſſic elegance, mathematical preciſion, and philoſophic reſearch. The Rev. Mr. Auſtin, and Mr. Harding, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſeveral uſeful and ingenious publications. The poetic genius of Preſton is much admired, and the writings of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, have acquired much celebrity for their conciliating tendency, and comprehenſive philanthropy. The Earl of Charlemont, by his admired writings, hath enriched both claſſic and philoſophic lore; and the truly dignified Prelate, who preſides over the church of Ireland, is no leſs an ornament to religion, by his unaffected piety and virtue, than he is to the republic of letters by his profound erudition and valuable literary communications. Drs. Wade and Dickſon, have added conſiderably to medicinal knowledge by their late pub

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lications, and when Dr. Purcell favours the world with his lucubrations, they will do honour to his country, and prove an acquisition of the utmoſt moment to the faculty. He is a man of profound erudition, a philoſopher, a gentleman, the firſt phyſician confeſſedly in Ireland, and above all, a good man.

If genius was duly encouraged, Ireland would be as much diſtinguiſhed for poetry, eloquence, hiſtory and other branches of polite literature, as any of the moſt celebrated nations. Such conſiderations impreſs us not only with regret, but indignation, on account of the little attention paid to the ſtate of learning in this kingdom. It is only our province to regret the numerous evils that reſult from the neglect of letters, and point out their utility to the happineſs and civilization of the kingdom. It is our wiſh to ſtimulate the legiſlature to the adoption of ſome general and comprehenſive ſyſtem of education, for the purpoſe of removing public ignorance, and enlightening the native intelligence of the mind.

An effectual ſyſtem of national education would ſoon kindle a noble emulation and literary competition amongſt proteſtants, preſbyterians, and catholics; and accelerate the progreſs of our civilization. The military ardour which pervaded the volunteer inſtitution, in a few years effected a greater degree of civilization than the interval from the revolution to the period of their formation had done; and this was ſolely accompliſhed by uniting the public good with a kind of perſonal ambition.

It is by no means neceſſary to enter into a long debate on either the neceſſity, or utility of bringing education and knowledge to the door of the unlettered peaſant. The mode by which it can be accompliſhed and means to ſupport it have recently been pointed out by many writers, as eminent for their talents, as for their patriotiſm. It therefore reſts with the wiſdom of the legiſlature to give that efficacy to a wiſe ſyſtem of general education, that the importance of the meaſure requires, and on the completion of which, the morals, virtue, and proſperity of the nation ſo eſſentially depend.

THE indulgent reader will excuſe our dwelling ſo long on a ſubject which perhaps, may ſeem a digreſſion from the main deſign of the work; but our apology muſt be grounded on the elegant and humane ſentiment of the latin poet, *homo ſum, et nil humani, alienum a me eſſe puto.*

WE now reſume the narrative. Few occurrences of any moment took place from the arrival of Earl Camden until the meeting of parliament. A calm ſeemed to pervade the kingdom after the departure of Earl Fitzwilliam, but it was ſeriouſly to be apprehended, that it was that ſpecies of calm which uſually preceded a ſtorm. The appointment of a new viceroy, diffuſed ſuſpicions, fears and alarms, through the maſs of the people.

THE catholics of Dublin had deputed delegates, previous to Lord Fizwilliam's departure, to preſent a petition to his majeſty for a total emancipation. They were graciouſly received; but from an apprehenſion that ſuch viſitants might be two troubleſome in future, his majeſty's miniſters informed the deputies, that

that the king's pleaſure on the ſubject of catholic claims was communicated to Earl Camden the then lord lieutenant, and that he was the proper channel through whom it might be known.

THE deputation in conſequence of their inſtructions, did not conſider themſelves at liberty to make any further application. They returned and communicated the reſult of their deputation to a numerous meeting of catholics, convened for that purpoſe, on the 9th of April, at Francis Street chapel.

THE thanks of the meeting were given to the delegates, for their zeal and fidelity in executing the truſt repoſed in them. The meeting Reſolved, that they derived conſolation under the loſs the kingdom ſuſtained by the removal of the late popular adminiſtration, in contemplating the riſing ſpirit of harmony and co-operation among all ſects and deſcription of Iriſhmen, ſo rapidly accelerated by that event, and they earneſtly recommended to the catholics of Ireland, to cultivate by all poſſible means, the friendſhip and affection

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of their proteſtant brethren, ſatisfied as they were; that national union was national ſtrength; hhappineſs and proſperity

THEY likewiſe Reſolved, "That they were ſincerely and unalterably attached to the rights, liberties, and independence of their native country; and they pledged themſelves collectively and individually to reſiſt, even their own emancipation, if propoſed to be conceded upon the ignominious terms of an acquieſcence, in the fatal meaſure of an union with the ſiſter kingdom."

A LARGE body of the ſtudents of Trinity college, who on that day had waited on Mr. Grattan with an addreſs, came to Francis Street Chapel, during the ſitting of the catholic meeting; they were admitted in the moſt reſpectful manner. They communicated their addreſs, together with Mr. Grattan's anſwer to the meeting; after which it was Reſolved, "That the catholic meeting obſerved with grateful cordiality an honeſt exultation on the appearance of a body of the learned and ingenuous youth of Ireland, amongſt them; they accepted their patriotic adoption of

of their cauſe as the ſureſt omen of its ſucceſs, and they invited and requeſted the preſent reſpectable viſitors, with their brethren of the univerſity, to honour their future meetings with their preſence and ſupport, in this caſe they ſeemed to found their hopes of complete emancipation, or the cauſe of Iriſh liberty, as they called it, on the union among Iriſhmen alone.

It muſt appear evident, that the happineſs and proſperity of Ireland, cannot otherwiſe be effected, than by an union among every ſect and deſcription of the community; yet the conduct of the ſtudents on this occaſion was diametrically repugnant to academic inſtitutions and regulations.

If we look back to the former ſtate of the kingdom, it will appear ſelf-evident, that our preſent ſituation is conſiderably influenced by it. The firſt ſpecimen of Engliſh government, in this country, was introduced by a barbarous horde of military adventurers whoſe object was plunder and devaſtation.

they were oppreſſive and rapacious in their conduct, and denied the Iriſh, not only the benefits of the Engliſh laws and conſtitution, but, on occaſions, treated them as enemies.

When Henry II. landed in Ireland, we were not inferior to England in either refinement or civilization. But from that period, to the reign of Henry the VII. domeſtic feuds and foreign wars, ſo embarraſſed the affairs of England, that the intereſts of Ireland were little attended to.

During this interval, rapine and military tyranny not only rendered the natives ferocious, but reduced them to the moſt deplorable ſituation. Penal ſtatutes and the ſword, were the means adopted for effecting the ſettlement and ſecurity of the land; and ſcarce a political regulation took place in the kingdom, until the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Under the reigns of James and Charles, fanaticiſm endeavoured to baniſh the only religion known to the people; cruel and rapacious

cious governors attempted to inforce by the ſword, opinions on the minds of the people; as well as by acts of the moſt ſavage cruelty, andbarbarous ſeverity.

NON-CONFORMITY to religious reformation was too often made the pretext for robbing, not only the native Iriſh, but alſo the early Engliſh adventurers; and the recent ſettlers, in order to add ſtability to their ill-acquired property, did their utmoſt to ſupport and maintain a ſupremacy in England, over this kingdom.

THE natives were excluded from the honours, offices and emoluments of the ſtate; and were robbed of their properties, and perſecuted in their religion. Thus two parties, as diametrically oppoſite in public as in private intereſt, were formed in Ireland.

A SMALL degree of reflection on the foregoing circumſtances, will account for the oppoſition recently given to catholic emancipation; but it is an oppoſition, which will yield to time and reaſon.

RELIGIOUS animoſity will be ſubdued by the returning tide of human benevolence as

the full communication of political power, cannot in the courſe of things be inſtantaneous, but, like the fruit of the earth, it muſt be the growth of maturity, and the gift of time.

PREJUDICE and illiberality will ſoon be baniſhed the land, and all diſtinctions will ceaſe, but thoſe of a good or bad citizen. What a picture of liberality and moderation did the conduct of the eſtabliſhed clergy of Ireland exhibit, during the recent application for catholic emancipation? Many pious and learned prelates exerted their eloquence in parliament, in ſupport of Catholicity; and the entire body of the proteſtant clergy, in their conduct on this occaſion, have fully approved themſelves the diſciples of the meek, mild, and gentle author of chriſtianity.

WHILE the voice of religion thus accords with that of the people at large, the general wiſh muſt ſhortly prevail; but we are ſatisfied that what appears from the temper of the times impracticable, it is as imprudent to ſolicit, as it would be deſtructive to the nation to attempt by any other means.

In conſequence of a balloting for the augmentation in the militia, that took place this ſeſſion, riots and affrays enſued in various parts of the kingdom; and many of the ignorant and unfortunate populace, in the conflict, were put to death by the military.

On the firſt ballot for a militia in this kingdom, ſimilar bloody ſcenes commenced, owing entirely to a miſconception in the minds of the people, with reſpect to the real object of the inſtitution: which would have altogether been prevented, had a timely and proper explanation of the militia bill been given. There is every reaſon to preſume, that the augmentation of the militia this year, is reſiſted on the ſame principle it was in the year 1792; all which might have been prevented by fully explaining the militia act to the people, and by a judicious ſyſtem of raiſing the men.

It certainly requires a little more addreſs than the generality of governors and deputy governors who conſtituted the balloting committees poſſeſſed; to reconcile the minds of the lower orders of the people at this criſis, to the militia ſyſtem, which they conſidered little

ſhort of a requiſition. At a moment when public credit is unhinged, and multitudes of manufacturers actually ſtarving, ſurely, every precaution ought to be uſed to conciliate the favourable opinion of the people, to every additional burden, impoſed them.

We have ſeen with ſorrow, many inſtances of cruelty in quelling popular diſturbances. The idea of ſhedding the blood of our fellow creatures, ought to excite horror in every breaſt, however callous to the feelings of humanity; and it cannot be admiſſible but upon the moſt preſſing and momentous neceſſity, when either the peace of the kingdom, or the exiſtence of ſociety is menaced with deſtruction.

But the vengeance due to this enormous crime, ſhould not be exerciſed upon every trifling appearance of inſtinctive reſiſtance, however miſguided, a diſorderly aſſemblage of half-ſtarved, unarmed wretches, oppreſſed indeed, as unqueſtionably the poor of this kingdom are, with miſery and want, who aſſemble either to communicate their grievances

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and hardſhips, or to deviſe ſome ſcheme of redreſs; or probably ſeduced by the artful addreſs of ſome baſe miſcreant, with the infernal view of promoting his ambitious ſchemes, by their guilt. Men thus led to commit momentary acts of indiſcretion and irregularity, are by no means objects of dire vengeance, but rather of pity, and heart-rending commiſeration.

In all ſuch caſes, government ſhould impoſe it as a duty on the civil power, to uſe their utmoſt efforts to make the infatuated and deluded people, ſenſible of their dangers, and their errors, at the ſame time adminiſtering to them the pleaſing hope of an alleviation of their miſeries. Such conduct would be more conſonant to the mild, and perſuaſive precepts of humanity, and much more honourable and advantageous to the ſtate, than to butcher them without deliberation, and drench their remonſtrances with their blood.

If the magiſtrates conſcientiouſly diſcharged their duty, little tumult or riot would diſturb the peace of the country, and the people would never

never, from deſpair of redreſs, be brought to the perpetration of deeds of violence and outrage.

THE former miſeries of Ireland we wiſh to ſee buried in everlaſting oblivion. We will therefore paſs them over without comment. But at the joyful period when that long-wiſhed-for union among the people, is taking place; let the hands and hearts of all my countrymen be united for the preſervation of the peace and proſperity of the nation. Let neither proſcription, nor arms, be reſorted to; but let conciliation, take place of both: let induſtry be encouraged, and merit rewarded.

THE induſtrious peaſantry conſtitute the ſupport of the nation; and therefore their minds and affections ought to be meliorated to their ſituations, and made as comfortable as a ſtate of ſubordination can conſiſtently admit of.

WE ſincerely truſt, that the liberty of the ſubject may never experience the dreadful attacks of laſt year, when reſpectable, decent and induſtri-

induſtrious men, were confined for months in a common gaol, and that upon the evidence of the vileſt informers; bail refuſed, trials ſuſpended, the health and property of the innocent priſoners deſtroyed, and at their acquittal the perjury of the informers were ſo notorious, that even the lawyers for the proſecution reprobated it in the moſt ſevere terms. May theſe ſcenes never be remembered but as watch lights to guard us againſt ſimilar diſaſters!

We omitted to mention in the tranſactions of the preceding year, that an highly popular character, Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, had been charged with treaſonable and ſeditious offences, and that having abided the deciſion of the law, was found guilty, and ſentenced to two years impriſonment; but ſhortly after made his eſcape from Newgate, through the connivance of the deputy gaoler. The oſtenſible reaſon aſſigned for Mr. Rowan's flight was, the apprehending the unfortunate Mr. Jackſon, in whoſe treaſonable and traiterous ſchemes, it appeared that Mr. Rowan had been

been deeply implicated. As an amiable private character, Mr. Rowan was admired, revered, and eſteemed; but when we view him in a public capacity, we are confounded and ſurprized; we feel for the man, while we condemn and execrate his political creed. Behold a gentleman of conſiderable landed property, of poliſhed and refined manners, liberal education, and bleſſed with the greateſt of all domeſtic comforts, a good wife and numerous progeny, humane beneficent and charitable; behold ſuch a character led aſtray by an overheated imagination, or through exceſſive credulity, become the dupe of party to embroil the peace of his country; yet, on acconut of his many good qualities, we will bury in the grave of oblivion one crime, and ſhed a tear over the memory of the friend, whoſe weakneſs we deplore.

If we caſt our eyes around us, and contemplate the ſtate of Europe for ſome months paſt, the ſcene is not only awful but alarming. The arms of an irreſiſtible and victorious republic every where triumphant from Pyrenees to the Rhine; the combined powers

flying

flying or fled; the united, ſtates of Holland annexed to the republic of France; the Stadholder baniſhed, and his power aboliſhed; the Emperor trembling in his capital, Pruſſia temporiſing with Great Britain, while ſecretly negociating with France. Spain, and Italy, on the eve of a revolution, whilſt in the midſt of the univerſal commotion, the odious Catherine had ſubjugated a kingdom, and dethroned a virtuous monarch.

At home, trade nearly annihilated by the continuation of the war, the poor ſtarving, and the price of all kinds of proviſions ſo exorbitantly dear, as to occaſion commotions in ſeveral parts of the empire. This is ſurely a critical period for the impoſition of new taxes and new burthens, for the purpoſe of ſubſidizng foreign princes, in order to guard their own territories. At a time, when it is notorious, that all thoſe powers are endeavouring to patch up a peace with there public of France; and when Britain, at the commencement of the campaign, has ordered home the miſerable

ble remnant of a once flouriſhing army to guard her own coaſts againſt foreign invaſion and domeſtic commotion.

We had once a dignified exiſtence in Europe, *fuimus Troes*. The only alleviation of the general damp and gloom, which pervade the empire, is the recent marriage of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales with an amiable Princeſs of the illuſtrious Houſe of Brunſwick; an event which has cheered deſpondency, and diffuſed joy through the breaſts of a loyal people and benevolent ſovereign.

But wiſe meaſures ought inſtantly to be adopted by the miniſters of the crown, to prevent the dangerous example of a neighbouring nation infuſing her poiſonous principles into the hearts of our people, to the ſubverſion of our conſtitution, and the overthrow of civil ſociety. The remedy is at hand, it conſiſts in one word,—*peace*. Nothing but that can reſtore public confidence and public credit, revive the drooping manufactures

tures of the country, and give animation and vigour to trade and commerce.

A BILL had paſſed the commons this ſeſſion, for the encouragement of the brewery. It was a bill of much importance, as moſt materially connected with the health and morals of the people; it was therefore a meaſure of much general expectation. However, on the ſecond reading of it in the houſe of lords, it was warmly aud ſucceſsfully oppoſed by the lord chancellor, for which oppoſition his lordſhip aſſigned the following reaſons: That however deſirable the object of the bill might have been, yet it was ſo formed as to be utterly inadmiſſible; it went, his lordſhip obſerved, to a direct violation of a compact between parliament and the crown, in a commutation of the civil liſt for the hereditary revenue, ſo far as concerned the duties on beer and ale without ſubſtituting any other revenue in lieu thereof. It went alſo to repeal the privileges veſted by Mr. Beresford's exciſe laws in revenue officers for inſpecting the premiſes of brewers in ſuch manner as would be moſt uſeful to the revenue.

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THE conſideration of the bill was poſtponed for a fortnight, as the houſe of commons had adjourned for a week, and would in the interim meet, and being apprized of the objectionable parts of the bill, might prepare another conſonant to the principle, but free from the objections of the preſent bill.

THE commons brought forward another bill, free from the above objections, which has ſince paſſed into a law; whereby the brewer will be encouraged effectually, and the health, morals, and induſtry of the people preſerved.

IT would conduce much to the intereſt and honour of the crown, as well as to the peace and happineſs of the kingdom, to ſimplify the revenue ſyſtem, which has now become inexplicable even to the ſapient framers of it. If ever any ſyſtem can introduce deſpotiſm and arbitrary government into the kingdom, it will be the revenue ſyſtem.

THE nation cannot be too guarded againſt the encroachments of a code, which has already

ready conſtituted in this country *imperium in imperio.*

THE entire ſyſtem is become objectionable on many accounts. It certainly is incompatible with every idea of juſtice, that the ſame ſet of men ſhould ſit as judge and jury on the property of the nation. It is a principle which our conſtitution abhors, and has crept into uſe in a ſurreptitious manner.

IT is alledged that unleſs the commiſſioners of the revenue were inveſted with a ſummary power of deciding on revenue matters between the ſubject and the crown, the courts of law, from their uſual delay, would not for years be able to diſpoſe of revenue ſuits.

ALTHOUGH we ſincerely lament the delay and procraſtination of the courts of law, yet with all their inconveniencies we ought to prefer them to a new juriſdiction, unknown to the conſtitution, and which may be converted to dangerous uſes.

A SIMPLIFICATION of the revenue code would remove all the inconveniencies and ſcandalous abuſes that pervade a ſyſtem, where fraud

fraud, oppreſſion, and peculation, are ſo predominant.

THEREBY the neceſſity of litigation would be precluded, and the collection of the revenue facilitated, while the country would be relieved from the intolerable burthen of paying between ſeventeen and eighteen per cent. for the collection of a revenue, that on an average ought in juſtice, not to exceed ſeven per cent. which even is conſiderably higher, than what Great Britain pays, on a ſimilar engagement.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Houſe of Commons met purſuant to adjournment—Their Proceedings—Riots in many Parts of England on account of the ſcarcity of Proviſions—Trial of the Rev. Wm. Jackſon, for High Treaſon—Found Guilty—Mr. Jackſon dies in the Court—Strangers excluded the Gallery of the Houſe of Commons—Admitted again under certain Reſtrictions—A Reſponſibility Bill introduced—A Bill for the abolition of the Police—Acquittal of Warren Haſtings—Roman Catholic Bill introduced by Mr. Grattan—Its Fate—Earl Fitzwilliam in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers, demands an Enquiry to be made into the Cauſes of his recal—Obſervations on Lord Carliſle's Reply to Lord Fitzwilliam's Letters—Riots in Connaught—Obſervations on the five Catholic Regiments ordered to be raiſed—The cruelty of employing Crimps in the Recruiting Service—The Ingenuity of the French in the Invention of the Telegraphe—A Deſcription of it—Reflections ariſing from the Circumſtances of the Times—An Enquiry into the Seceſſion of the Heads of the Whig Party, to the

of the present Administration—The Bill to extend Ecclesiastical Leases to three Lives, thrown out in the Lords—Mr. Graydon's Motion relative to Mr. Ottiwell—Sir Laurence Parson's Motion relative to the Number of Troops on the Establishment.

A. D. 1795. THE House of Commons met pursuant to adjournment on Tuesday, the 21st of April. An answer from his excellency the lord lieutenant, to the address of the house, was reported, and ordered to be entered on the journals. A congratulatory address was agreed on, to his majesty on the happy event of the Prince of Wales's nuptials with a princess of the house of Brunswick; and an address was also voted to her Majesty at the same time, to congratulate her on the same joyful event.

It must be admitted that the conduct of our Queen has been extremely exemplary, both as a wife, and as a mother. She has been a perfect pattern of female excellence, in each of these characters; wherefore an address of this kind must be extremely grateful to her majesty's feelings on that happy occasion.

Mr.

Mr. Forbes preſented the treaſury bill, which was received. Mr. Pelham's conduct on this occaſion was manly and candid, it was both gentlemanlike and conciliatory.

Mr. Grattan moved that a committee ſhould be appointed, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation; the object of which was, to inveſtigate the cauſe of Earl Fitzwilliam's ſudden recal from this country. The motion was negatived by a majority of 110. In the courſe of the debate, it appeared that arrangements, and not meaſures, were the real cauſe of Lord Fitzwilliam's removal; and upon the whole it was evident, there had been too much addreſs upon one part; and too much placidity on the other.

Mr. Secretary Pelham avowed, that he and his friends, oppoſed Mr. Pitt, until the urgency of public concerns demanded the aſſiſtance and concurrence of every friend to his country: they coaleſced with him without any ſtipulation whatſoever. They oppoſed Mr. Pitt on principle, and were now induced from the neceſſity of the times to ſupport him on principle, and they ſhared in office,

that they might ſhare in reſponſibility. He declined entering farther on the motives which occaſioned the coalition between the Duke of Portland and his friends, with Mr. Pitt. It certainly could anfwer no ſalutary purpoſe, and might be conſtrued into an act of indiſcretion, and probably a violation of confidence.

An addreſs of congratulation was moved to the princeſs of Wales expreſſive of the happineſs and cordial ſatisfaction of all his majeſty's ſubjects on the happy occaſion of her Royal Highneſs's nuptials with the heir apparent.

The high price of proviſions had been productive of riots and tumults in various parts of Great Britain during theſe few weeks paſt; but to the honour of Ireland may it be ſaid, that although proviſions had riſen to exorbitant prices, yet the people remained peaceable and quiet, if we except ſome few inſtances to the contrary, occaſioned by the militia buſineſs, the high price of lands, and low price of labour.

How far it was prudent in government, at a moment of general ferment, to force an additional

ditional new ballot throughout the kingdom, the conſequences will ſhew.

We abhor all tendency to ſedition and riot, but we are perſuaded from the moſt attentive conſideration that rack rents, enormous grand jury aſſeſſments, together with the infuſion of French principles and the low price of labour, have in a great meaſure fomented, and kept up the ſpirit of defenderiſm in the country. Were theſe evils removed, the kingdom would no longer be diſturbed by Defenders.

This is not a ſeaſon for irritation, when Europe, emerging from the convulſions of war, is menaced with a general famine, and the poor are brooding over their wretchedneſs and miſery in ſilent diſcontent.

However we may approve the militia ſyſtem as a good mode of national defence, yet we are fully ſatisfied that it ought not to be attempted by ballot in a country circumſtanced as this is, at this period. The peaſantry were not fully prepared for ſuch a meaſure, wherefore the balloting has been attended with difficulties, outrage and riot, which might have been pre-

vented by adopting a mode more palatable to the people.

On the 23d of April, a remarkable trial took place in the court of King's Bench, before lord Clonmel. It was for high treaſon,—a crime ſcarcely heard of in this kingdom for a century paſt. The Rev. William Jackſon arrived at Dublin from England, on the 4th of March, 1794. His object was to learn the ſtate of the kingdom, and to communicate the ſame to the national convention, for the purpoſe of inducing them to invade this kingdom, and overturn our preſent happy conſtitution in church and ſtate.

The indictment conſiſted of fourteen different counts, which all went to two diſtinct points of criminality. The one purpoſing and imagining the king's death, and the other adhering to the king's enemies; either of which, by the ſtatute of Edward III. upon which Mr. Jackſon was indicted, conſtituted in law the crime of high treaſon.

The ſeveral charges againſt the priſoner were proved by an informer of the name of Cockayne an Engliſhman. Mr. Jackſon being unable

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to adduce any evidence to invalidate the charges, or counteract the teſtimony of the informer, after a trial of conſiderable length, the priſoner was, by a very reſpectable jury found guilty, but, from motives of humanity, they recommended him as an object of mercy. He was allowed by the court four days to aſſign cauſe, why judgment ſhould not paſs on him; at the expiration of which he was brought up to the court of King's Bench; but previous to his receiving ſentence, he ſuddenly expired in the dock, the effect of poiſon, as was generally believed: the unfortunate man ſeemed from the commencement of his traiterous deſigns, to be under the influence of an infatuation verging on inſanity. This is the only apology we can offer, either in extenuation of his crime or his tragical and unchriſtian-like exit. While in priſon, Mr. Jackſon wrote an anſwer to Paine's Age of Reaſon, in which he oppoſed the abſurd principles of that vile deiſtical writer. It is to be lamented, however, that he ſhould terminate his exiſtence, by an act ſo repugnant to the principles he avowed, and ſo congenial to thoſe of the enemies of our holy religion; ſuicide being conſidered by deiſts as an act of magnanimity and true heroiſm, a doctrine

a doctrine as incompatible with the chriſtian diſpenſation as it is with the firſt principles of nature, and originating in pride or cowardice.

It does credit to the moderation of the preſent times, that deiſtical writers have been neither attacked, nor called to an account for their writings by any civil or eccleſiaſtical power. Two hundred years ago, they could not have dared to do ſo, without endangering their lives, and within that ſpace of time hiſtory mentions ſeveral Unitarians, Socinians and Arians, who have ſuffered at the ſtake, or account of their religious tenets. There are, we ſuppoſe many deiſts in this kingdom, though deiſtical writings do not at preſent appear ſo frequently as they did about fifty years ſince; the ſubject indeed is nearly exhauſted, and Mr. Paine's Age of Reaſon has added but little to the old ſtock. But even the writings of Hume and Gibbon, which have been directly or indirectly levelled againſt the Chriſtian religion, have long ſince ſunk into merited oblivion, wherefore, we have little to apprehend from the author of the Age of Reaſon.

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FORMERLY the attacks of the deists against the Christian religion were chiefly levelled at the sacred writings, and the fundamental of its faith founded upon them; but the modern free-thinkers persuade themselves, that they have at last completed *a system of deism.* They foolishly believe they have found the true principles, derived from reason and experience; by which they can overthrow all kinds of established religion. They therefore think that attacks upon the bible are altogether unnecessary, and that by defending and adhering to their pretended system, and adopted favourite principles, they effectually set all that authority aside, which hitherto the professors of christianity have ascribed to the sacred writings. Although at present, the hell-fire club does not exist, yet were a new one to be erected, we believe, there would be by no means a want of persons, who are abundantly qualified for such a fraternity.

MOST of those who expiate their crimes with the forfeiture of their lives, attribute their melancholy end to *sabbath-breaking*, and a total neglect of the excellent moral precepts enjoined by the Christian religion; wherefore the pre-

promulgation of irreligious and conſequently pernicious doctrines, ought to be totally prohibited, and diſſipation and vice, diſcountenanced and ſuppreſſed by the legiſlature.

IMMORAL writings and indecent prints have been extremely detrimental to that morality, which is pronounced the ſupport of the ſociety in which we live. It would redound much to the honour of the police of Dublin, to deviſe ſome effectual means for leſſening the baneful evils, ariſing from the number of proſtitutes that prowl through moſt parts of the city. The number of theſe wretched females encreaſes daily, wandering about in the ſtreets by dozens, not only at night, but even at noon day: many of them are ſcarcely twelve or thirteen years of age, who by following their unfortunate occupation bring themſelves and many of our youth to untimely ends, or finiſh their days in extreme diſtreſs, poverty and diſeaſe.

VARIOUS means have been deviſed to check the evil of proſtitution, but they anſwer very imperfectly. The Magdalen Aſylum, a very commendable charity, was inſtituted ſome years

years ſince, for the benefit of females who wiſhed to renounce their diſorderly life, and reform their morals. But how ſmall is the number of thoſe who can be received, and who really return from vice to virtue, when compared to thoſe who prefer the ways of immorality. Some perhaps, are taken up in the ſtreets and ſent to Bridewell, where they are ſcarcely miſſed among the number of thoſe who remain; and ſince no proviſion is made for their ſupport, when liberated out of priſon, they return partly from neceſſity, and partly from inclination to their former occupation.

THAT Dublin is infeſted with ſo many thieves and robbers, and that ſo many young men are condemned to die, is greatly owing to thoſe wretched proſtitutes. Here, indeed, is an ample field for a good police to exert its wiſdom in the prevention of crimes, that the number of thoſe may be diminiſhed, who are to be puniſhed for the commiſſion of them.

IN conſequence of ſome indecent and diſorderly behaviour in the gallery of the houſe of commons, occaſioned by a ſudden emotion excited

excited by a ſpirited ſpeech made by one of the patriotic members, ſtrangers were for a time excluded the houſe; the gallery was however again opened for the admiſſion of ſtrangers, but under ſuch reſtrictions, and limitations, that it was conſidered by many of the members, calculated for the admiſſion of certain creatures of government alone; upon this preſumption Mr. Egan regularly moved every day, that the gallery ſhould be cleared, a motion he was determined to perſevere in, until the former modes of admiſſion to the gallery were allowed, which ſhortly after took place at the inſtance of that worthy character Col. Blaquiere.

THE reſponſibility bill, and the abolition of the police meaſures ſo long and ſo ardently ſought after by the oppoſition, were at length carried into effect, by the unremitting perſeverance of Mr. Grattan and his friends.

AFTER a trial of ſeven years continuance, Warren Haſtings was acquitted by the Britiſh houſe of peers, of the charges preferred againſt him by the houſe of commons, and of

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all matters contained therein, the lord chancellor of England was decidedly for his condemnation, as were Earls Fitzwilliam, Radnor, and four other peers.

THE bill for the total emancipation of the catholics was introduced into the houſe of commons by Mr. Grattan; it was received, and ordered to be printed, and on the 4th of May, during the ſecond reading, it was rejected by a majority of ſeventy one, after the houſe had ſat on the diſcuſſion of the bill upwards of ſixteen hours.

PERHAPS there never was a political queſtion debated in parliament, on which more eloquence was diſplayed, than on the catholic queſtion: during a debate of unexampled length, one might have expected ſome diminution of fire and energy, but on no former occaſion do we ever remember ſo powerful and ſo ſtriking an exertion of oratorial powers.

OUR gracious ſovereign and his parliament of Ireland have made in the courſe of a few years

years great conceſſions to the catholics, with which they ought to be content, at leaſt, until the lower orders of the catholic community are ſufficiently qualified for the reception of the full and entire participation of the conſtitution, by the progreſs of civilization, and the benefits of education.

In the Britiſh ſenate, Earl Fitzwilliam demanded an enquiry into the cauſe of his recal, in order to aſcertain where the blame was to attach; whether to the miniſter or himſelf, but the miniſtry reſolved to oppoſe any inveſtigation whatever, touching his lordſhip's recal.

Earl Carlisle publiſhed a reply to Earl Fitzwilliam's letters. In this reply his lordſhip is brief without being ſatisfactory, and conciſe without being clear Lord Carliſle ſaid, it was generally believed, that in the final arrangements and concluding converſation between Earl Fitzwilliam, and his majeſty's miniſters, it was ſettled, that no material meaſure, either as to perſons or things

things, was to be decided upon without a further communication and concurrence with the cabinet of England.

FURTHER communication, if Earl Fitzwilliam's letters be genuine, there was, with the Britiſh cabinet, relative to perſons; and no objection was even hinted relative to the arrangements his lordſhip propoſed to make on the ſubject. As to catholic emancipation Lord Carliſle expreſſed a terror and apprehenſion, at the precipitancy with which the meaſure was brought forward. His lordſhip delivered it as his opinion, that as no attack or accuſation had been aimed at lord Fitzwilliam's character, there was no neceſſity for the juſtification into which his lordſhip had entered.

EVERY loyal and good ſubject muſt lament and ſeverely condemn the enormous exceſſes of a ſet of deluded wretches, who have been for ſome time paſt deſtroying the internal peace of the country; many of theſe miſcreants have been impelled to their horrid depredations by a ſpirit of riot, rapine and plunder; but as all the recent diſturbances

bances have not originated in the ſame in famous motives, it is but an act of juſtice to draw a line of diſcrimination.

In the counties of Roſcommon, Leitrim, and Longford, the inſurgents complain that they cannot ſubſiſt on four pence a day, the uſual wages given in thoſe parts, and they demand eight pence. Theſe unfortunate people alſo complain of the exorbitant rents of land as an inſupportable grievance. It muſt be admitted that rack rents have been the real cauſe of driving many of the wretches in Connaught to deſpair.

Their enormities and exceſſes muſt be puniſhed, however humanity may feel for their ſituation, and policy point out the neceſſity of adopting meaſures to prevent the growth of the evil. We heſitate not, once more to declare, that exorbitant rents with the low price of labour have been the ſource and origin of moſt of the late diſturbances that have terrified and convulſed the country; and the folly of men of large landed property in letting their eſtates to a deſcription of people denomi-

denominated *middle men*, have alſo contributed to produce the evil complained of.

At a time when the violated laws are preparing all their horrors for the puniſhment of depredators and delinquents in different countries in Ireland, it muſt be the wiſh of every humane mind to ſuggeſt the abſolute neceſſity of taking proper ſteps for the prevention of ſimilar outrages in future. The military may kill thouſands, but without a radical remedy for the diſeaſe, will produce but a momentary and an apparent calm.

Although it be generally an ungracious duty for an hiſtorian to tread cloſe upon the heels of the riſing events, yet anticipation and prediction are beyond his province. If, however, it may be allowable, from the aſpect of preſent appearances, to judge of future events; the next ſeſſion of parliament will frame ſuch laws as will completely check all diſorderly proceedings in the populace hereafter, by removing the cauſe *nam enſe recidendum eſt, immedicabile vulnus.*

FIVE regiments of the Iriſh brigade, of two battalions each, have been revived, and commanders are ſent over to this kingdom, to recruit none but Catholics, to whom they promiſe the free exerciſe of their religion, and the conſtant opportunity of attending divine ſervice, performed by chaplains of their own perſuaſion. It is however to be remarked, that all the commiſſions in theſe revived corps, are to be given to the officers of the old Iriſh brigade; and if a ſufficient number of them cannot be found, they are to be completed by Engliſh and Iriſh Catholics only.

THE Duke of Portland, in order to encourage the recruiting and immediate incorporation of theſe new-raiſed corps, to whom he could promiſe no proſpect of reward on the eſtabliſhment, wrote a moſt polite and flattering letter to a gentleman who had the command of one of theſe regiments, aſſuring him, that, if by a fortunate turn of events the French Monarchy ſhould be reſtored, either during or after the preſent war, and their attachment to their former maſter ſhould call upon their gratitude for paſt favours, they ſhould be conſidered at full liberty to arm themſelves again under their

their former ſtandard.—a more flattering and honourable compliment could not be paid, to the long tried loyalty of the Iriſh nation.

ONE of the great evils of war in a free country is, the encouragement given to deceit, fraud and cruelty, in procuring recruits for the ſervice. When the war is in itſelf unpopular, the bounties to recruits riſe in proportion to the general reluctance to enliſt. When the bounty is at the higheſt, the more extenſive and ſubtle is the ſyſtem of converting it to account through all the ſubordinate gradations of the military brokers, from the commiſſioned officer down to the unfortunate recruit. He, too often, is ſeduced by the incautious acceptance of a ſcanty relic of the clipt and ſweated bounty, that at length reaches the hand for which it was originally intended entire and full. The recruiting houſes kept by crimps and kidnappers in Dublin, and many other towns in this kingdom, are the general ſcenes of the enormities committed in this atrocious and inhuman traffic.

DEBAUCHERY and intoxication, the general means of ſeduction into the engagement; force, cruelty, and ſometimes perjury, the remedy againſt repentance in the moment of returning ſobriety and reflection, theſe evils will ever exiſt as long as the preſent recruiting ſyſtem is continued.

WHATEVER may be our conviction of the neceſſity of the war, or the prudence of its continuance, the preſent alarming ferment of the public mind, forbids us to explain. No motive or incentive to the war has been unapplied by its advocates to engage every claſs and deſcription of people in it; the defence, glory, and propagation of the goſpel of Chriſt, and the eſtabliſhment of every principle of truth, juſtice and morality, have been diſplayed in oppoſition to the impious and wild ſyſtem of French democracy.

FAR be it from us to judge of the juſtice of any cauſe, by the iſſue or ſucceſs of human events; we abhor republican principles as much as any of the moſt zealous ſupporters of our conſtiution can do; yet if it ever concerned the people to know the real principles

principles upon which the ſyſtem of government and the public intereſts of the nation were conducted; it certainly is in that hour, in which the largeſt ſupplies and levies are called for, in which ſtrong and ſevere meaſures are adopted by the executive and legiſlative powers. But, the confuſed darkneſs of the meaſures of our cabinet, as well as of thoſe of the combined powers, render it impoſſible at preſent, to ſpeak with that preciſion of facts, which the winding up of the cataſtrophe will probably enable the future hiſtorian to do.

During the whole of this diſaſtrous war, the French have been remarkable for energy of action and ingenuity of invention. For great national purpoſes, nothing ever equalled the Telegraphe, either in ancient or modern improvements; it conſtitutes one of the moſt uſeful effects of their marvellous exertions.

The Telegraphe conſiſts of upright poſts, erected on heights at the diſtance of twelve or fifteen miles from each other; on each poſt are two tranſverſe arms, which are moveable

ble in all directions with extreme rapidity, by means of a ſingle piece of mechaniſm. The poſition and form of theſe arms ſtand for different letters or cyphers agreed upon between the perſons at the two extremities. Though the number of forms into which theſe arms may be worked is definite, yet the combination either by way of letters or cyphers is almoſt indefinite, and the meaning always arbitrary and changeable.

So incredible has been the ſucceſs of the experiment, that the account of the ſurrender of Conde at ſix o'clock in the morning, was communicated to the convention before nine o'clock on the ſame day: a vote paſſed immediately for acknowledging the good ſervices of the army of the North; it was conveyed to the army, and an anſwer received from them by the telegraphe, before the convention ſeparated for dinner.

THIS extreme velocity in conveying intelligence, appears rather fabulous than real; but it is aſcertained beyond doubt, that words and ſentences can be communicated at the inconceivable rate of one hundred miles in the

the hour. The inventor of this admirable inſtrument for propagating intelligence, is *Monſieur Chappe.* The perfection to which it was brought in the firſt inſtance, ſpeaks loudly in favour of that laudable attention and energy which France has lately manifeſted in every improvement of art and ſcience.

WHAT a loſs to our country that inventive genius is not duly encouraged! ſurely, it ought to be the peculiar province of government to ſecond every effort of genius, having new diſcoveries for its object, as public improvement and national honour would prove the certain conſequences; it being an unqueſtionable fact, that neither the productions of genius nor art, will ever be brought to maturity, without the countenance and patronage of government.

IN the year 1787, the truly ingenious Mr. Samuel Healy, of Dublin made a diſcovery on philoſophic and mechanic principles, that would prove of the utmoſt utility to navigation in general. In a letter to Lord Howe,

Mr.

Mr. Healy offered to prove demonſtratively, by means of a working model, that his diſcovery would be attended with the following advantages in navigating ſhips of any burthen;—Firſt, that a ſhip could be accelerated in her progreſs when under ſail, clear of all rigging.—Secondly, that ſhe could proceed on her voyage in a calm at the rate of either one or ten knots in an hour, in proportion to the working,—Thirdly, that ſhe would not miſs her ſtays in tacking, and conſequently would be ſupported under a leeway;—Fourthly, that ſhe would be enabled to get off a Lee-ſhore in a heavy gale;—Fifthly, that the invention would anſwer as a perpetual Log; and Sixthly, that it would be made to work pumps, when the ſhip was under ſail, or at anchor in a current.

It is to be lamented that the board of admiralty did not countenance this ingenious and laudable undertaking. But as Mr. Healy has eſtabliſhed the principle of his hypotheſis, it is to be preſumed that the legiſlature will countenance a diſcovery, the promulgation of which, would reflect credit on the talents and

and ingenuity of the inventor, and do honour to his country.

NEVER has there occurred in the annals of the empire, ſuch unanimity in the ſenate as in the proſecution of the preſent war againſt France. Upon this principle did Mr. Grattan and his friends ſupport a government which they had for a ſeries of years uniformly oppoſed, the ſingle queſtion of war was either the pretext or the ground for this coalition of parties.

HOWEVER true it may be, that Ireland muſt ſtand or fall with Great Britain, and that her councils are always or generally directed by the Britiſh cabinet, yet it muſt ever be denied, that an independent and powerful kingdom ſhould be ſo mean, and ſubſervient to the Britiſh miniſtry, as to ſanction and ſupport, any meaſure replete with folly and ruin, merely becauſe it is brought forward by men in office.

IF in human events there be a certain criterion of the fall of a nation, it is when the failures, diſaſters, and miſmanagement of adminiſtration

miniſtration are viewed with torpid indifference. The progreſs from this ſtate to extreme calamity is rapid and violent.

If in the critical moment of the cataſtrophe, ſhe can command ſufficient energy, to recover herſelf from the ſhock, it is a fortunate hazard out of human reaſon or expectation.

In proportion to the ſtrength of every man's conviction, muſt he neceſſarily wonder at the difference of others from him, upon a ſubject equally open to the information of both. Hence ariſes the difficulty of ſpeaking with moderation and temper upon ſubjects that appear to carry conviction with them, little ſhort of mathematical demonſtration.

The ſeceſſion of ſo many from the Whig party, that had for theſe ten years paſt uniformly oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration, is a circumſtance of too great importance to the empire to be paſſed over in ſilence. Their ground for ſeceding was certainly new, and did not exiſt at the beginning, or during the continuance of the greateſt part of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration.

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FROM the nature and conſtruction of our conſtitution, an oppoſition to the miniſtry of the day muſt always exiſt; but it becomes a perſonal inſult, to preſume that any man oppoſes his majeſty's ſervants upon other ground, than that their principles and actions are dangerous to the ſtate, or hoſtile to the conſtitution.

A CHANGE of opinion may certainly take place in any man's mind, and with that change an honeſt man alters his conduct. A miniſter may propoſe and bring forward a meaſure, which his moſt active opponent may be under a ſtrict obligation of not oppoſing; but whilſt his conviction laſts, of the unconſtitutional principles upon which a particular adminiſtration is founded and ſupported; probity and integrity leave him, at the moment in which he gives his ſupport to ſuch a meaſure.

IT deeply concerns the intereſt of the public, that the real political principles of the leading members of its two eſtates ſhould be decidedly aſcertained, and made known. As therefore the deſerters of the Whig party, appear to outvie all others in their zeal for carrying

rying on the war, it becomes the duty of the hiſtorian to prevent the reader from confounding the approbation of one act of the miniſter, with a cordial and unqualified adoption of his principles and general ſyſtem of meaſures.

THE introduction of the duke of Portland and his friends into adminiſtration, was a circumſtance that aſtoniſhed all thoſe who had believed their oppoſition to Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration grounded upon principle. When a party has largely participated in the confidence of a nation for a length of time, it is a fortunate circumſtance that calls from them an unequivocal teſt of the ſincerity of their profeſſions.

ACCORDING therefore to their future conduct will the people judge, and truſt them with their confidence; and the nation, it is preſumed, will not confide in the preſent men and meaſures, an atom farther than the more effectual ſupport of the war; the avowed cauſe of the change.

So ſingular is the ſpirit of the preſent times, that when an individual undertakes to think of and

and communicate to the public, any of the great events that involve the deareſt intereſts of his country, he is expected to repreſent them all as terminating happily, and tending eſſentially to promote the welfare of the nation.

We will however admit, if ever on any occaſion, it were allowable to conceal political truth from the people at all, it is at the moment when republican and fanatical principles are ſo prevalent: at ſuch a time, it becomes dangerous, by any kind of ſpeculation, to weaken the arm of the executive power; and this is a ſeaſon, when the doctrine of obedience ought to be inculcated, and the exception ought not to be introduced into popular reaſonings and diſcourſes.

From the memorable revolutions that have lately occurred, we may naturally conclude, that it is dangerous for princes to aſſume more authority, than the laws have allowed them; and at the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe events furniſh us with another inſtruction no leſs natural and no leſs uſeful, concerning the madneſs of the people, the fury

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of fanaticiſm, and the danger of republican and levelling principles.

A BILL to enable biſhops to let leaſes for three lives paſſed the commons, but in the lords upon the motion of his grace the lord Primate, the committal of the bill was poſtponed to the firſt of Auguſt, a meaſure highly honourable to his grace and the other learned and worthy prelates who oppoſed the bill; for the paſſing of a bill to extend eccleſiaſtical leaſes to three lives, would certainly operate much to the emolument of the preſent bench of biſhops; in this inſtance, they have ſacrificed their own immediate intereſt for the good of their ſucceſſors, and the advantage of the church.

MR. HENRY OTTIWELL having perſiſted in refuſing to anſwer a queſtion put to him by a committee of the houſe, and afterwards by the houſe itſelf, relative to the conduct of the commiſſioners of wide ſtreets, who had let conſiderable lots of building ground to Mr. Ottiwell, at what was conſidered

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an undervalue: Mr. Graydon moved the following reſolution on the occaſion, which was carried. "That Henry Ottiwell having declined to anſwer a queſtion put to him by a committee appointed by the houſe, and perſiſting in his refuſal, is guilty of a contempt of the authority of that houſe, and a violation of its privileges."

Mr. GRAYDON then followed up this reſolution by a motion, "That Henry Ottiwell be committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, which was unanimouſly agreed to."

A GREAT fraud it was conceived had been committed on the public. A committee had been appointed by the houſe to make a report on the ſubject. But from Mr. Ottiwell's ſilence, together with a want of ſufficient information, the committee were incompetent to pronounce any judgment. Such being the ſtate of the fact, it is not in the power of the hiſtorian to offer an opinion on the queſtion; where there is a want of due information, candour requires in ſuch caſes, that the

the character of an individual ſhould not be ſhattered away even by inſinuation.

ON Wedneſday the 13th of May, Sir Laurence Parſons made the following motion in the houſe of commons. "That John Earl of Weſtmorland, by authoriſing ſuch numbers of troops to be ſent out of the kingdom, as reduced the regular forces on this eſtabliſhment below the number required by law to be kept within the kingdom for its defence, has been guilty of violating a compact between the king and the parliament, and with diſpenſing with the law of the land."

THIS motion was productive of conſiderable debate; on the one ſide it was argued. That at the time of the augmentation in 1769, the crown entered into a ſolemn compact, ratified by ſeveral ſucceeding acts of parliament; That twelve thouſand effective men ſhould at all times be kept in this country for its defence; That Lord Weſtmorland, as appeared from the returns on the table, had ſent ſo many men away in 1794,

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as left the kingdom depending on a ſmaller number for its defence than that ſpecified in the compact; that by ſo doing, he had violated the king's engagement, and the law of the land, which no power could diſpenſe with; That if neceſſity was urged, he ought to have reſorted to parliament for an act of indemnity; but failing to do it, it became parliament to vindicate their own dignity and the law of the land, by voting at leaſt a public cenſure for an offence that ought to be followed by impeachment.

On the other ſide it was inſiſted, That by examining the returns, it appeared, that with new levies, invalids, and other regular troops, the kingdom was at no time left with leſs than twelve thouſand men; that even had Lord Weſtmorland acted as it was charged, the exigency of the times would have juſtified it. That the proviſion in the law which mentioned an invaſion or rebellion in Great Britain, as a juſtification; ſhould be reaſonably extended to an apprehended invaſion; a circumſtance which every man expected in the laſt year; and, that the com-

pleat defence of this country, the object of the compact, was fully anfwered by the great addition of force in the militia regiments. After the debate had continued to midnight, it was at length got rid of, by the queftion of adjournment having been put and carried.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The diſtinction between true and falſe Patriotiſm —Bad Conſequences ariſing from the latter— Motion of the Duke of Bedford in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers, relative to Earl Fitzwilliam's recal from the Government of Ireland—Oppoſed by Government and the Motion rejected by a conſiderable Majority—A Proteſt entered on the Journals of the Lords, in conſequence of the rejection of the Motion—Mr. Curran's Motion in the Parliament of this kingdom on the State of the Nation, negatived without a Diviſion —The Liquidation of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales's Debts—A Jointure ſettled on the Princeſs of Wales—The abolition of the Police Eſtabliſhment, in the City of Dublin, and the reſtoration of the old Watch—The judicious choice of Government in appointing the Earl of Carhampton to quell the diſturbances in Connaught —Tranquillity reſtored to that Part of the Kingdom—The cloſe of the Seſſion of Parliament —Reflections ariſing from the State of the Country—Concluſion of the Work.

THE mode of arguing from the abuſe of any thing againſt the uſe of it is one of the groſſeſt, and at the ſame time one of the

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moſt common errors to which we are ſubject. The hiſtory of all ages, affords examples of the abuſe of patriotiſm; but whoever would from thence draw an inference to the diſadvantage of patriotiſm in general, would argue raſhly and erroneouſly.

TRUE patriotiſm never fails to inculcate and ſecure obedience to the laws and the civil power, while the adulterate ſpecies of it, inflames faction, animates ſedition, prompts rebellion, and becomes the great ſource of revolutions and public convulſions.

THE hiſtorian may therefore retain the higheſt regard for true and genuine patriotiſm, while he expoſes all the abuſes of the falſe. He may even think, that he cannot better ſhew his attachment to the former, than by detecting and expoſing the pernicious tendency of the latter.

THE lower orders of the people, ſeem to be agitated by a political hurricane, and it muſt be admitted, that many injudicious meaſures and proceedings have been recently adopted by many individuals under the maſk of patriotiſm. By theſe artful partizans of faction, a conſiderable

conſiderable degree of ferment has been excited throughout the kingdom.

Democratic innovation is ſet up by many as the ſtandard of patriotiſm. To a peaſantry already too much prepared for commotion by the infuſion of French principles, and the wily ſuggeſtions of certain turbulent and ſeditious ſpirits; the good to be derived from the recent conceſſions of parliament, as it did not operate inſtantaneouſly, eluded their penetration, and before they could be ſenſible of their improved ſituation, they have been miſled and hurried into outrage and commotion in ſeveral parts of the kingdom: and nothing but the judicious interference of the executive power, can at this critical period, preſerve the kingdom from the horrors of anarchy and commotion.

Grievances exiſt in this country, both from the want of occupation and from the want of capital, both of which, muſt inevitably be encreaſed by the preſent diſturbances.

The people ſhould reflect on the great conceſſions already made by the legiſlature: reſtrictions

ſtrictions have been impoſed on the prerogative of the crown; limitations on the expenditure of the public money; new and uſeful arrangements in the finances, a check on profuſion by the eſtabliſhment of a treaſury board; together with the admiſſion of the great body of the nation to almoſt all the advantages of the conſtitution.

THESE are certainly laudable acts in government and ought to ſatisfy the public mind, particularly at ſo delicate and critical a ſeaſon as the preſent.

THIS is not a moment to miſlead by repreſenting faction innocent, and government reprehenſible. Let government get due credit for its laudable acts, and let no unfair ſtatement of circumſtances be obtruded on the public mind to incite and urge the ferment too long already kept up by artifice and deſign.

THE Duke of Norfolk in the Engliſh houſe of peers, agreeable to a former notice, made the following motion; That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that his majeſty may be graciouſly pleaſed to have laid before

fore the houſe ſuch papers, and correſpondence as had paſſed between his majeſty's miniſters and Earl Fitzwilliam, while lord lieutenant of Ireland; as related to his lordſhip's recal, at the time both houſes granted ſuple. to his majeſty, of the greateſt munifi-

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THE Earl of Coventry opp[illegible] the motion, as he did not ſee any nece[illegible] there was to give Earl Fitzwilliam an op[illegible]rtunity of defending his conduct, which had never been alled in queſtion; it was likewiſe alledged that the motion was not warranted by any conſtitutional principle; that it would tend to divulge the ſecrets of the cabinet, and interfere with a prerogative of a moſt ſerious nature, Earl Fitzwilliam truſted the propoſition of his noble friend ought to paſs, in order that the country might hear his defence, as well as the charges miniſters had to offer as to the cauſe of his recal; and his lordſhip complained that his name, his character, and fame had ſuffered exceedingly, in conſequence of the circumſtance, which gave riſe to the preſent motion, he therefore called on their lordſhips. in juſtice to an injured individual, to give him an opportunity of clearing his character from

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the calumnies and aſperſions under which it laboured.

THE Duke of Portland ſaid, that no charge had been made againſt the noble lord, and that with'd not think the buſineſs of ſufficient motion to call for an enquiry. The motion was negatived by one hundred againſt twenty. A proteſt was entered on the journals of the houſe of lords, in conſequence of the Duke of Norfolk's motion having being negatived.

A. D. 1795. ON Friday, March 16th. Mr. Curran, in an eloquent ſpeech on the ſtate of the nation, in the houſe of commons of Ireland, concluded with a motion to the following effect: That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, aſſuring his majeſty of the unalterable affection and ſincere attachment of his majeſty's faithful commons of Ireland, and their anxious deſire to ſupport the connexion between the two countries on all occaſions, to which they are further induced by a conſcious ſenſe of the preſent ſituation of affairs.

THAT

THAT his majeſty's faithful commons of Ireland have granted in this year, for the ſupport of the army and navy, a ſum nearly amounting to two millions; and that the ſaid ſum was granted unanimouſly by parliament, and with the approbation of the people.

THAT when a nobleman appointed to the government of the kingdom had employed himſelf in the purſuit of inſpecting into, and reforming abuſes, he was recalled by the machinations of Britiſh miniſters. That confidence had been abuſed by the traffic of honours, and law violated by the removal of troops. That Proteſtants and Catholics are fully ſenſible of the benefits which they enjoy, under his majeſty's auſpicious reign; and conſider that the meaſures purſued by his majeſty's miniſters are unknown to his majeſty.

THEREFORE his majeſty's commons of Ireland do moſt humbly implore, that the happineſs, proſperity and intereſt of his majeſty's ſubjects in general in this kingdom, may form part of his majeſty's future inſtructions to his miniſters. This motion was negatived, without a diviſion.

THE

THE houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on the literary teachers bill: it was oppoſed by the attorney general, on the principle that it was not introduced for the general good of the community; but to ſerve a few individuals, who made themſelves conſpicuous under the title of the Abcedarian ſociety. It was, he ſaid, treſpaſſing on the rules of Parliament and againſt the rule of right, to make a private bill a public one. If they wiſhed to be incorporated, they ſhould apply to the crown. The bill was negatived without a diviſion.

THE Prince of Wales's debts having undergone a diſcuſſion in the Britiſh ſenate, the mode in which they are to be diſcharged is as follows. The eſtabliſhment of the prince is to be increaſed to one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds a year excluſive of the revenue of Cornwall, which is thirteen thouſand pounds a year.

THE debts of his royal highneſs, excluſive of the ſecurities which he has given for the dukes of York and Clarence, are ſix hundred and twenty five thouſand pounds. To pay the intereſt of theſe debts, at four per cent.

twenty

twenty five thouſand pounds a year, are to be deducted from his income, and the revenue of Cornwall is to be applied as a ſinking fund, to the diſcharge of the principal, which it is calculated it will effect in twenty ſeven years.

THE money for the payment, both of the principal and intereſt, is to be veſted in the hands of commiſſioners, over whom the prince is to have no controul. In order to prevent any future accumulation of debt, his royal highneſs's income, is to be claſſed under ſeveral heads, to each of which a certain ſum is to be allotted.

ALL arrears are to be cleared within a given time, and if they are not claimed by the creditors within that time, the claim is to lapſe; and if they are not diſcharged within that ſame period, the creditors are to be furniſhed with the power of recovering their debts from the officers employed by his royal highneſs in the management of his houſhold.

HOWEVER much the prodigality of the prince is to be lamented, yet it is to be hoped, his royal highneſs will now begin to qualify himſelf

himſelf by prudence and ſober reflection for the high duties of his future ſtation.

The commons unanimouſly concurred in ſettling a jointure of fifty thouſand pounds a year, on the princeſs of Wales, when there was conſiderable debating on granting the prince an encreaſe of his eſtabliſhment; but if the prince had been in a ſtate of diſcredit with the houſe, his having been reduced to that ſituation was owing to bad adviſers, for there are circumſtances which no ſplendor of rank can veil, as there are virtues, which no obſcurity of ſtation can ſhroud.

The police eſtabliſhment in Dublin, which, from its commencement, was ſo loudly inveighed againſt, was at length aboliſhed, and the peace and protection of the city, conſigned to the old watch. The act for the above purpoſe, commenced the 29th September, 1795.

It is now incumbent on the perſons in the different pariſhes, with whom their direction will lie, to exert themſelves for the protection of the public and the preſervation of the peace,

now

now that they are gratified with their favourite mode of nocturnal defence.

It is a circumſtance highly honourable to Earl Camden's adminiſtration, to have appointed the Earl of Carhampton, to quell the diſturbances that unhappily prevailed in ſome parts of Connaught. At a former period, when the ſouth was convulſed by inſurgents, by the humanity and conciliating meaſures of his lordſhip, peace and tranquillity were reſtored to that diſtracted quarter, without effuſion of blood, or any act of cruelty or oppreſſion.

In the courſe of a few days, Earl Carhampton effected the object of his miſſion, by reſtoring peace to a part of the kingdom ſo lately overwhelmed with tumult and commotion.

There is every reaſon to conclude, that all further diſturbances and diſcontents will be of ſhort duration, as the country gentlemen are now determined to beſtow a timely attention to the intereſts of the lower order of the people.

On the 5th of June, cloſed a ſeſſion, which may be conſidered as one of the moſt eventful, which has been known in this country. It opened with the warmeſt expreſſions of the gratitude of parliament to his majeſty, and of hope in the country on the appointment of the then viceroy.

The moſt important and popular meaſures were put in train; the public purſe was moſt liberally opened; the money was accepted and the popular viceroy immediately recalled. A reſponſibility bill obtained, and the police aboliſhed in the metropolis, and the old watch reſtored.

The public have certainly to regret, that a motion for printing the report of the committee to enquire into the management of the revenue for the laſt twenty years was negatived.

The publiſhing of the report, would have revealed the moſt curious details of the revenue during that period. It would have accounted

accounted for what has long been matter of ſurprize, why the collection of revenue in this kingdom coſt the public ſo much.

It would alſo ſhew how the amazing augmentation of revenue officers within that period, became neceſſary, and how that augmentation had been employed. Thus the abuſes of the revenue ſyſtem have been concealed from the public view, by the ſuppreſſion of the report. An enquiry into thoſe abuſes, and the correction of them will it is to be hoped, form a leading feature in the Camden adminiſtration.

The diſtreſſes of the labouring huſbandman are of the utmoſt importance to the landlord and the legiſlature to remove; if the means of the labourer be inadequate to his ſupport, the avarice of the landlord muſt deſtroy its own object, by rendering the tenant inſolvent, and reducing him to the alternative of exile or famine.

The peaſant can never be rationally attached to that land where his inceſſant toil from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet, cannot afford him

ſelf a comfortable meal or reſcue him from nakedneſs and famine. If landlords would retrench in ſome articles of luxury; be leſs ſplendid in their equipage, and leſs prodigal at the race courſe, and hazard table; then indeed, might we reaſonably hope, that thouſands of induſtrious tenants, with their numerous families, would not famiſh in all the horrible extremities of miſery, penury, nakedneſs and diſeaſe.

To the credit and honour of Earl Camden, let it be recorded, that it was his ſalutary advice to the Southern and Weſtern landlords of this kingdom, during the recent diſturbances, to ſeek order and permanent ſubordination, from their tenantry, rather by a mitigation of thoſe rigours of which they ſo heavily complain, than by the temporary, but terrible expedient of military force. The council was the reſult of judicious diſcernment and exalted humanity.

However, a dangerous and ſeditious ſpirit has manifeſted itſelf of late in many parts of the kingdom, evidently excited by individuals inimical to our king and conſtitution. Theſe deluded people have openly avowed

French

French principles, and have perpetrated enormities of the moſt atrocious nature.

THE vigilance and attention of government muſt have been directed to diſcover the vile abettors of ſuch infamous and ſeditious proceedings. Under the ſpecious garb of patriotiſm, the people have been of late years frequently deluded by a ſet of perturbed ſpirits, whoſe object was, to overturn our preſent happy conſtitution.

WITH the dreadful example of France before our eyes, what man, not monſtrouſly depraved, would excite a rebellious ſpirit in the country! loſt muſt he be, to all ſenſe of virtue, religion, and morality, who would endeavour to introduce a wild and deluſive ſyſtem of government into this kingdom, however it might be cloathed with the meritricious robes of liberty and equality. If ſuch perſons are not completely callous to all the feelings of humanity, the many unfortunate wretches, they have been inſtrumental, during the courſe of this ſummer, in bringing to an ignominious end, ſhould incline their

hearts to pity, and for ever put a period to their malevolent and seditious machinations.

Let not the peasantry of Ireland be seduced from their allegiance by the rumours of a French invasion, nor devote their time to acquire the use of arms, as the author of a late publication so seriously recommends to them. The only foe this kingdom has to apprehend danger from at present, is a domestic one; wherefore every man, who wishes well to either his king or his country, will contribute his utmost to preserve the internal peace of the country.

France, that now appears to be the idol of the unthinking multitude, by fanaticism and military enthusiasm has established a delusive republican system, which cannot be permanent because founded on accusations, proscriptions and murders.

The uniform persecution of the weakest party by the strongest, has hitherto prevailed in that unhappy kingdom; and although we do not

not much like to indulge in prophecy, when, whatever happens has long ceaſed to ſurprize, yet we do not hazard much when we ſay, that in the ſtruggles of different factions, we ſhall probably behold a repetition of the horrors we have conſtantly witneſſed for theſe five years paſt; and that it will be long before France can eſtabliſh a firm and ſolid government; and much longer, before ſhe becomes a nation, notwithſtanding all her great natural advantages, formidable to every other European power.

To the honour of the ſacerdotal function be it ſpoken, the clergy have been indefatigable, in endeavouring to ſuppreſs the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs that has for ſome time paſt pervaded the lower orders of the community, and for ſuch laudable conduct they have been wantonly cenſured and abuſed; but by men inflexibly determined to diſcharge their duty, vulgar and unqualified invective will be looked upon with pity and contempt. It is to be hoped, that the efforts of the clergy will be powerfully ſeconded by the civil power, then may we ſhortly hope to behold religion and morality in that eſti-

tion among the people, which the laws both human and divine so forcibly inculcate.

He that attempts, like Mr. Paine to destroy the efficacy of religion, by artfully undermining the pillars on which it is built, is an enemy to mankind and to every system of civil society; he is a traitor to his God and to his sovereign, and becomes an object of execration and utter abhorrence to mankind: such a miscreant should not be permitted to associate with civilized men, he is only qualified to herd with savages and brutes. Most of the evils and calamities of the present day, may justly be ascribed to the irreligious and immoral conduct of many members of the community; wherefore, it is a duty incumbent upon us, to regulate our conduct conformable to the dictates of our religion, so fully expounded, and so ably enforced, by the unwearied labours of our worthy and truly respectable pastors.

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It redounds much to the credit of parliament that 10,000l. have been granted this session, for establishing in this kingdom a Roman Catholic college, in order to qualify young men of

that community, for the clerical function. In the year 1792, the author of this work recommended the neceſſity and expediency of the meaſure to the legiſlature, from a perfect conviction of its utility to the national intereſt. Maynooth has been ſelected as the moſt eligible ſituation for erecting this much wanted univerſity. It would be not only prudent but equitable to make a ſimilar grant in the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, for the purpoſe of founding a preſbyterian college in the North of Ireland. A conſiderable annual ſaving, would form but a ſmall ſhare of the beneficial conſequences that would reſult from the adoption of the meaſure.

In the courſe of a few years, Ireland has made conſiderable progreſs in civilization and internal improvement, and if the countenance and protection of the legiſlature be ſeconded by the induſtry and orderly habits of the people, half a century will not elapſe, until this kingdom will become as diſtinguiſhed for its proſperity, and opulence, as it has hitherto been for its poverty and wretchedneſs. What iſland can boaſt of ſo many internal re-

ſources

ſources? a fertility of ſoil, capacious and commodious harbours, fine and productive fiſheries, with rich and numerous mines.

It is to be hoped, the people will turn their attention more to tillage than they have done, as extenſive paſturage proves highly injurious not only to the population, but to the civilization of the country. The great body of the people ought to apply themſelves chiefly to their own immediate occupations and concerns; inſtead of devoting whole nights and days to the vain diſcuſſion of political ſubjects, which are by no means ſuited to their talents, avocations, or intereſts. There is not a town or village in the kingdom, that does not ſwarm with political demagogues who, through ignorance or deſign do incalculable miſchief to the community.

Political ſubjects ſhould form at beſt, but ſecondary conſiderations with the maſs of the people. Induſtrious attention to their various intereſts and purſuits, ought to conſtitute the primary object of their lives. Mechanics, manufactures and artiſts would much more profitably employ their time and abi-

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lities in their reſpective ſtations, than in the idle diſcuſſion of politics, a ſubject in general but ill adapted to the level of common underſtandings. What have the peaſantry of Ireland to do with ſtate affairs? Are they competent by their information and learning to improve a ſyſtem of government which occupied the combined wiſdom of ages to deviſe and nature. Let them attend to the various improvements that can be made in certain ſpheres, where their ſkill and exertions will prove both profitable to themſelves and uſeful to their country. *Ne ſutor ultra crepidam*, was the adage current two thouſand years ago, and is extremely applicable to the preſent times. Unſpeakable advantages would reſult to the ſtate were individuals only to apply themſelves to their immediate concerns; but unfortunately for the public repoſe, politics ſeem to be the rage of the day: and ignorance of matters of ſtate, miſrepreſentation of men in power, and falſe notions of liberty, are the conſequences. Artful agitators in many parts of the kingdom avail themſelves of this political mania, and contribute largely to deceive, miſlead, and betray, the ignorant credulity

dulity of the people. Temporal concerns are not only abandoned by the populace, but what is ſtill of more important conſideration, their ſpiritual intereſts. Go to any houſe of religious worſhip in either town or country, and you will find it but thinly attended; the miniſter of Chriſt is deſerted for the agent of ſedition and the trumpeter of diſloyalty. The populace aſſemble in groups around the factious village demagogue, who by means of inflammatory papers, and ſpecious rhapſodies on liberty and equality, intoxicates the brain of the unlettered peaſant, who eagerly ſwallows any doctrine, however abſurd or chimerical which aims at the extinction of church and ſtate. Hence we ſee the viſible diminution of the authority of the clergy in almoſt every quarter of the kingdom; morality and virtue ſcarcely held in eſtimation, and a ſpirit of combination, diſloyalty and ſedition erecting the ſtandard of rebellion in a country bleſt with a virtuous monarch and an happy conſtitution. O deluded people!—were an invaſion to take place, purſuant to your wiſhes and machinations, you would perceive when too late, that you had made a fatal exchange

change: your clergy, your nobility and gentry, would be made the firſt ſacrifices of French invaſion, and afterwards they would employ you either as their vaſſals or the inſtruments of their deſpotiſm. They would not conquer for you, and the liberty and equality that you would participate in, would be that of ſervitude or death. Continue peaceable and amenable to the laws of your country, if you wiſh to ſecure your liberty and property, and to extirpate the preſent ſymptoms of commotion and rebellious diſaffection.

No ſyſtem of government can ever practically be reduced to theoretical perfection, but it is by compariſon that we are to form an opinion of the imperfection or excellency of any particular ſyſtem. If we by this ſtandard judge of our mode of government, it will appear demonſtratively to have the preference over all others, of which ancient or modern hiſtory affords us any information. It is that ſyſtem which the truly philoſophic hiſtorian, Tacitus, ſo much praiſes and admires, but which he thought on account of its perfection could never be eſtabliſhed in any nation.

ERRORS will by the lapſe of time, creep into all human inſtitutions, and it becomes the wiſdom of parliament to rectify and amend them; many of theſe have been lately reformed, and we may naturally conclude that the virtue and perſeverance of our ſenate will complete what is ſtill wanting to perfect our government. But is he a friend to his country who would ſtimulate the populace to reform the conſtitution by violence and deſperate innovation? miſerable and wretched would be the ſtate of the kingdom were the *rabies populi* to break looſe; the ſubverſion of all order, rapine, plunder and murder, would be the immediate conſequences, together with an utter contempt of all things human and divine. Loyalty to the ſovereign and attachment to the conſtitution have ever been the characteriſtics of the Iriſh nation, and although many of the lower orders have lately been ſeduced from their allegiance, by infatuated fanatical republicans, ſuch as the miſguided and frantic reformer O'Connor, who expiated his treaſon at Naas, ſome days ſince,

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A MUTINOUS ſpirit recently made its appearance in ſome ſencible Engliſh regiments quartered in this kingdom, but it was happily checked by the laudable exertions of government. An order had iſſued that all new raiſed regiments above the number 100, ſhould be reduced and drafted into other regiments moſt of which were under orders for foreign ſervice; this occaſioned the mutinous diſpoſition in the regiments above alluded to, as they conceived ſuch treatment, repugnant to the conditions on which they had entered the ſervice. However the wiſe precautions government adopted on the emergency had the deſired effect.

THE conviction of O'Connor has clearly diſcloſed the real principles of modern defenderiſm; its object is the ſubverſion of our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, and the extirpation of monarchy for the government of the mob: however the progreſs of the contagion has not been conſiderable, wherefore, a few more victims immolated at the altar of juſtice, will, it is to be hoped, put a period to the preſent career of diſloyalty and ſedition. The vigilance of government on

this

this occaſion, and the judicious diſpoſition of the military, have contributed not a little to the preſervation and protection of the peace of the country.

We are advanced to that period which terminates the preſent work. Our object has been to commemorate the leading facts in the hiſtory of this nation, and that of the empire at large, with truth and preciſion, and to ſtamp them with the genuine ſentiment, which they excited of approbation or cenſure.

It muſt be admitted, it is difficult to diveſt ourſelves of certain predilections which almoſt naturally ariſe in our minds, when engaged in the recital or deſcription of ſcenes acted in ages and countries the moſt remote; it would rather imply an apathy and defect of feeling, than any ſuperiority over common or vulgar prejudice, if we could ſurvey with the ſame compoſure the former and preſent ſtate of this kingdom; or if in the relation, we ſhould allow no portion of enthuſiaſm to mix with the veneration always due to hiſtoric truth,

GRATITUDE is naturally excited in every generous breaſt by private benefits, but the virtues of our beneficent ſovereign, kindle even in the annaliſt who records them, a venial partiality: the reign of Trajan and Aurelius could not be written with the ſame indifference, as we would feel in deſcribing the gluttony of Vitellius or the crimes of Caracalla.

FINIS.

"In
father Israelites by Pharaoh, the holy
cents by Herod, nor the Christians
nor any of the pagan Tyrants were
cruelly persecuted than the Irish in
Ireland" Morrison Threnodia (a Protestant
writer) page 14-

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